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THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET;

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CRUEL CIVIL WARS BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF

ORLEANS AND BURGUNDY;

OF THE POSSESSION OF

PARIS AND NORMANDY BY THE ENGLISH;

THEIR EXPULSION THENCE;

AND OF OTHER

MEMORABLE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE, AS WELL AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

A HISTORY OF FAIR EXAMPLE, AND OF GREAT PROFIT TO THE FRENCH,

Beginning at the Year MCCCC. *where that of Sir JOHN FROISSART finishes, and ending at the Year* MCCCCLXVII. *and continued by others to the Year* MDXVI.

TRANSLATED

BY THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ.

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES.....VOL. II.

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HERE BEGINNETH

THE SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.

CHAP. I.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS' ADVOCATE AGAINST THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AND THE REPLY FROM THE CHANCELLOR.

THE chancellor of France, in the king's name, ordered the duchess's advocate, master William Cousinot, to draw up such conclusions as should be satisfactory to the duchess and her son, the duke of Orleans. The advocate, after many excuses, began by showing how pitiable their state was, and took for his theme part of the 7th chapter of the gospel of St Luke,

'Hæc vidua erat quam cum vidisset Dominus misericordia motus est super eam.'

'Most noble prince, when our Lord entered a city called Nain, he met the corpse of a young man, which his friends were carrying to the grave; and when he noticed that the mother of the young man was a widow, he was on this account moved with compassion toward her, and restored her son to life. I may most truly apply these words to my lady of Orleans, for she is a widow who bewails the death of her lord and husband, and our lord will have compassion on her; for the king is our lord, in respect of terrestrial jurisdiction; and not only the king, but thou, lord of Acquitaine, and all other princes of this world having territorial powers, seeing my lady of Orleans thus disconsolate, ought to feel compassion for her, and give her aid and support in procuring strict justice to be done for the cruel death of her husband.

'In every case, and at all times, full justice should be administered to all; for, according to the words of the Psalmist, it is a good and meritorious act,—'Beati qui custodiunt judicium et faciunt justitiam in omni tempore.' Psalm cv.

'But justice should always be more rigorously observed in regard to widows and orphans, who have been deprived of their fathers or husbands, than in any other case; for the divine, canon and civil laws urge the necessity of succouring the widow and orphan. We have the first instance of this in the 22d chapter of Jeremiah,—'Facite judicium et justitiam, et liberate vi oppressum de manu calumniatoris, pupillum et viduam,' &c.

'In regard to the canon law, the decrees declare, that it is very proper for kings to do justice and execute judgment, and deliver from the hands of the oppressors widows and orphans who are injuriously used by them.

'As for the civil law, it is very clear, that widows and orphans are particularly privileged in many cases, as may be seen in different law writings.

'My lady of Orleans has lost her husband: her children have lost their father, certainly one of the handsomest and most accomplished princes in Christendom. But let us see how they have lost him: had he been taken from them by a natural death, their case would not have been so much to be pitied; but he is cut off violently in the flower

of his youth. In truth, this is such an outrage that every law and customary proceeding should bend in their favour against the malignant author of the deed.

'In the first place, our king and sovereign lord is bounden particularly by the commands of God, to whom he cannot be disobedient without sinning, to execute judgment, according to the words of Jeremiah in the chapter before mentioned,—'In memetipso juravi, dicit Dominus, quia in solitudine erit domus vestra.' And this is conformable to the reply made by St Remy to king Clovis when he baptised him. The king asked him how long the kingdom of France would endure. The saint answered, that it would last so long as justice should reign there. The converse of which is, that when justice shall cease to be administered, the kingdom will fall. To the king therefore may be applied what is written in the canon law, 'Quod justitia est illud quod suum firmat imperium.'

'O, duke of Acquitaine! thou art he who, after the king, art bound to do justice according to the words of the Psalmist, 'Deus judicium tuum regi da et justitiam tuam filio regis.' Thou art the eldest son to the king, to

whom, by the grace of God, thou wilt succeed, and be our lord: attend to our case for the love of God, for to thee more particularly does it belong; and if thou dost not lay thy hand on it, when thou shalt come to reign, thou mayest find thy kingdom desolate and destroyed,—for each will in his turn seize parts of it, and be the master, should this atrocious crime remain unpunished.

'Ye also, my lords, princes, dukes and counts of the royal blood, relations of the late duke, and ye other nobles, who have an affection for the king's crown and honour, what ought to be your conduct on this occasion? Why, certainly, if the king will not interfere in this matter, ye ought to take up the business and execute judgment; for ye are bound by oath to guard and defend the king's honour against all who may infringe upon it. This ye have done in former times, through God's grace, and for which this kingdom has gained greater glory than any other realm in Christendom: insomuch that the English, the Germans, and other foreigners, have come hither to seek for justice.

'My lords, for the love of God, let your loyalty burst forth, according to your oaths, in

behalf of my lady of Orleans, as she has the fullest confidence it will; for, after God and the king, you are her only refuge. Let no one fear to do justice, from the scandal or persecution that may ensue, for it is a maxim of law, 'Utilius est scandalum nasci ac permitti, quam ut veritas relinquatur,'—although it were certain the doing justice in this case would cause much grievous persecution to ensue. Yet for all this justice should not be neglected; for in that case you would be indeed reproachable, if, through fear of the offender, you shall not dare to decree justice. On no occasion should justice be neglected: therefore, my lords, act according to what the prophet says, 'Viriliter agite, et confortetur cor vestrum et sustinete Dominum.'

'In truth, if ye do not act with courage, for one inconvenience that may happen, by executing judgment, one hundred would ensue from default of justice. Therefore, my lords, do not hesitate to do justice to my lady of Orleans and her children from any dread of inconveniences that may happen, but follow the dictates of our Lord,—'Judicare pupillo et humili ut non apponat magnificare se homo super terram.' Let the punishment be so

exemplary that none other may henceforth commit so great or so disgraceful a crime, and that it may be held in perpetual memory and abhorrence. This is the object of my lady of Orleans and her children, namely, that the crime may be atoned for as heavily as possible in this world. In order that this atonement may be made, my lady of Orleans and her children would willingly take the legal steps for the infliction of capital punishment, if this could regularly be done; but as these steps, according to the customary usage of France, belong to the king's attorney-general alone, they propose that the offender shall be punished in manner following,—that is to say, by sentence of the king and of the court, be it ordered that our adversary, the duke of Burgundy, be brought to the castle of the Louvre, or elsewhere, according to the king's pleasure and that of my clients, and there, in the presence of the king, of my lord of Acquitaine, and the other princes of the blood, as well as of the council and people, the duke of Burgundy, without hood or girdle, shall, on his knees, publicly confess, with a loud voice, before my lady of Orleans, her children, and as many other persons as she may please,

that maliciously and treacherously he has had my lord of Orleans assassinated, through hatred, envy and ambition, and for no other cause, notwithstanding all the charges made against him, and other imputations thrown on his character, to justify and exculpate himself from so base a deed; and shall demand pardon from my lady of Orleans and her children, most humbly supplicating them to forgive his offences, declaring that he knows of nothing prejudicial to the honour and reputation of the said duke of Orleans deceased, and recals all he may have said or published to the contrary.

'In this state he shall be carried to the court of the palace, and to the hôtel de Saint Pol, the residence of the king, and to the spot where the murder was committed, and there, on high stages erected for the purpose, he shall repeat the above words before such commissioners as my lady of Orleans and her son may please to appoint. He shall remain on his knees, at the last place, until priests nominated for the purpose shall have recited the seven penitential psalms, said the litany, and the other parts of the burial service, for the soul of the deceased, after which he shall kiss the earth, and ask pardon of God, of my

lady of Orleans, and of her children, for the offences he has committed against them.

'The manner and form of this recantation, and begging pardon, shall be written out, and copies sent to all the different towns in the kingdom with orders for the magistrates to have them proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that it may be notorious to all within and without the realm.

'And as additional reparations for such offences, and that they may remain in perpetual remembrance, all the houses belonging to the duke of Burgundy in Paris shall be razed to the ground, and remain in ruins for ever. On the places where any of his houses shall have stood, there shall be erected handsome crosses of stone, having large and strong tablets, on which shall be written a full account of the murder of my late lord, the duke of Orleans, and the cause of these houses being destroyed.

'On the spot where my late lord was murdered shall be erected a similar cross; and the house wherein the murderers hid themselves shall be pulled down. This spot, and the adjoining houses, the duke of Burgundy shall be forced to purchase, and to build thereon a handsome college for six canons, six vicars, and

six chaplains, whose nominations shall remain with my lady of Orleans and her heirs. In this college six masses shall be said every day for the soul of the deceased duke of Orleans, and high mass at the usual time of canonical hours. For the support of this college there shall be a mortmain rent of one thousand livres parisis; and the whole shall be well furnished with dresses, books, chalices, ornaments, and all other necessaries, at the sole expense of the duke of Burgundy; and over the entrance shall be written in large letters the cause of its foundation.

'The duke of Burgundy shall, beside, be constrained to found a college for the salvation of the soul of the deceased, in the town of Orleans, consisting of twelve canons, twelve vicars, and twelve clerks, which college shall bear the name of the defunct; and the nominations to it shall belong to my lady of Orleans, and to the heirs of the late duke of Orleans. It shall be situated in whatever part of the late duke's possessions in Orleans the duchess shall please, and shall be handsomely constructed, furnished with books and all other necessaries, with an income of two thousand livres parisis; and a similar inscription to the

one before mentioned shall be placed over the gate.

'For the greater perpetuity of this event, and that it may be made known to all foreign nations, the duke of Burgundy shall be enjoined to erect two chapels; the one near the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, and the other at Rome, and assign to each the annual value of one hundred livres in the coin of those countries, and to provide them with all necessary furniture. In each of these chapels shall a daily mass be said for the soul of the deceased, and over the doors shall be placed the same inscriptions as over the colleges.

'The duke of Burgundy shall also be constrained to pay the sum of one million in gold, not to the profit of my lady of Orleans or her children, but to found and endow hospitals and monasteries, and to distribute in alms and other works of piety for the salvation of the soul of the defunct.

'That this sentence may be carried into due effect, all the lands which the duke of Burgundy possesses in this kingdom shall be placed in the hands of the king, that they may be sold for the accomplishment of the above works. The duke of Burgundy shall

also be condemned to close imprisonment in whatever place it may please the king, until the above sentence be carried into execution. After which, he shall be banished for ever beyond sea, or at least for the space of twenty years, to bewail and repent of his crime, or until it shall be thought he may have sufficiently done it. On his return, he shall be ordered, under severe penalties, never to approach within one hundred leagues of the queen or the children of the late duke of Orleans, without being condemned to such heavy damages, and other penalties suited to the enormity of the case, as shall be held in perpetual remembrance. He shall also be condemned to pay whatever costs my lady of Orleans and her children may have occurred on this present occasion.

'I say, therefore, that such ought to be the judgment given for them, and without delay, considering the notoriety and enormity of the offence of our adversary; for it is publicly known, that the duke of Burgundy has confessed himself guilty of it. He first made a confession of his guilt to my lord of Berry and to the king of Sicily, giving no reason for it but that he was urged on by the

devil: he then did the same before several noblemen. This ought therefore to weigh against him, and convict him of the crime, without further trial: nor ought you to suffer any sort of colouring to be admitted in palliation of his guilt. He ought not to be heard otherwise than he has been, for he varied not in his confessions to the different persons; and pope Innocent approves of this, in his chapter on Free Will, and Guillermus de Montleon, in his chapter on Clerical Constitutions. Pope Nicholas held king Lothaire, in like manner, convicted to his prejudice in a certain case, about which he had written to the pope, as appears in the above chapter. This confession of king Lothaire had been made in a letter, previously to any trial. The duke of Burgundy, therefore, ought to be condemned from this public confession of his crime in the presence of different persons. He has beside made a similar confession when he appeared publicly before thee, lord of Acquitaine, when thou didst sit in judgment representing the person of the king, and before the princes of the blood and all the council of state. He cannot, therefore, deny his having made such confession before competent judges. It follows then, that

no further trial is necessary, but that sentence should immediately be passed; for confession of guilt should be judged the fullest evidence.

'The law says, 'In confitentem nullæ sunt partes judicantis.' And supposing, that according to some, a sentence is requisite, at least it is certain that no trial or examination of the cause is necessary, since this present case is extremely notorious. So has it formerly been determined by the sentence and judgment of the kings in times past, against several great lords of their day,—to wit, that when the facts were notorious, no other process or inquisition was required. And so shall it be determined, by the grace of God, in the present case,—for so reason demands.

'Should it, however, be thought necessary to go into another trial, which, from all I have said, I cannot suppose, my lady of Orleans is ready prepared to bring forward the fullest proof of what I have advanced, and such as must convince all reasonable persons. But as my lady can now only offer civil conclusions, and would willingly propose criminal ones, but that it belongs to the king's attorney-general according to the usage in France,—my lady, therefore, most earnestly supplicates the king's

attorney to join with her, and propose such sentence as the law in this case requires.'

These were the conclusions of my lady of Orleans and her sons,—after which, the council of the princes of the blood, and others of the king's council, with the approbation of the duke of Acquitaine, made the chancellor reply to the duchess of Orleans, that the duke of Acquitaine, as lieutenant for the king, and representing his person, and the princes of the blood-royal were well satisfied with her conduct respecting her late lord the duke of Orleans: that they held him perfectly exculpated from all the charges that had been brought against him; and that, in regard to her requests, speedy and good justice should be done her, so that she should be reasonably contented therewith.

A few days after, the young duke of Orleans, Charles, did homage for the duchy of Orleans, and all his other possessions, to his uncle Charles king of France: then, taking leave of the queen and dauphin, and the princes of the blood who were in Paris, he departed with his men at arms for Blois, whence he had come. The duchess-dowager of Orleans remained in Paris.

CHAP. II.

GUYE DE ROYE, ARCHBISHOP OF RHEIMS, APPEALS FROM THE CONSTITUTIONS DRAWN UP BY THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, WHICH ANGERS THAT BODY, AND THEY IMPRISON HIS COMMISSARY.

At this period, Guy de Roye *, archbishop of Rheims, who had been summoned specially by the king to attend the meeting of the prelates at Paris, assembled to consider on the means of uniting the whole church, neither came himself nor sent any one in his behalf. He refused to

* Of one of the most noble houses in Picardy.

Matthew II. lord de Roye and d'Aunoy, grand master of the cross-bows, mentioned by Froissart, had issue,

1. John III. lord of Roye, &c.
2. *Guy, archbishop of Rheims.*
3. Matthew Tristan, lord of Busancy, &c.
4. John Saudran de Cangy.
5. Drogo, counsellor and chamberlain, grand master of waters and forests in Languedoc, killed at Nicopolis.
6. Raoul, abbot of Corbie.
7. Reginald, who went to Hungary with his brother Drogo.
8. Beatrix-John de Châtillon, vidame of the Laonnois.

agree to the decisions of this council, and sent a chaplain as his commissary, with letters signed with his name and seal, to confirm his opposition to all the statutes they had drawn up, as well for himself and his diocese as for all his subjects within the province.

The king and the clergy were much displeased at this conduct; and the university of Paris requested that the commissary should be confined in close imprisonment, where he remained for a long time.

The cardinal of Bordeaux came at this time to Paris, partly for the union of the church; and then also returned thither master Peter Paoul, and the patriarch of Alexandria, named master Symon Cramant, who had been sent by the king of France and the university of Paris, as ambassadors to the two rival popes.

The assembled prelattes were very anxious for their arrival, that they might be better acquainted with the business they had to manage, and on what grounds they should proceed. Master Peter Paoul frequently rode through the streets of Paris in his doctor's dress, accompanied by the cardinal riding on one side of his horse as women do. In the

presence of this cardinal and doctor, the abbot of Caudebec, of the order of Cistercians, and doctor in theology, proposed, on the part of the university, an union of the church. The abbot of St Denis, with other doctors in theology, declared for an union of the universal church; and, shortly after, the cardinal departed from Paris for Boulogne, and thence went to Calais.

The abbot of St Denis and another doctor of theology, who had been, by the king's orders, confined in the prison of the Louvre, were released, at the request of the cardinal de Bar, and set at liberty, contrary to the will of the university of Paris. In like manner did the bishop of Cambray, master Peter d'Ailly, an excellent doctor of theology, gain his liberty. He had been confined at the instance of the university, because he was not favourable to their sentiments, and was delivered at the entreaties of count Waleran de St Pol, and the great council of the king. All Christendom was now divided in religious opinions, as to the head of the church, by the contentions of the two rival popes, who could not be brought to agree on the means to put an end to this disgraceful schism.

CHAP. III.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ASSEMBLES A LARGE BODY OF MEN AT ARMS TO SUCCOUR JOHN OF BAVARIA AGAINST THE LIEGEOIS, AND COMBATS THEM.

About this time, John duke of Burgundy was busily employed in collecting a body of men at arms to aid his brother-in-law, the bishop of Liege, whom, as has been said, the Liegeois had driven out of their country, and besieged in the town of Maestricht. He sent for succour among his friends and allies, namely, to Burgundy, Flanders, Artois, and the borders of Picardy, whence came very many, and several from Savoy.

The earl of Mar, also, a Scotsman, then at Bruges, with about four score combatants, ready to embark for Scotland, advanced into the Tournesis, whither the duke came, and had a conference with their principal captains in the town of Tournay.

On the eleventh day of September, he marched thence with a numerous body of men at arms, and a great train of artillery and

baggage-waggons to Enghien, where he was gladly received by the lord of the place. On the morrow, he advanced to Nivelle in Brabant, within a league of Salmes. He marched next to Flourines, where he met sir Richard * Daulphin, sir William de Tignonville, lately provost of Paris, and master William Bouratier, one of the king's secretaries, ambassadors to him from the king of France. Having obtained an audience, they said they had been sent to him from the king and the great council on two objects; first, to know whether the Liegeois and their bishop were willing to submit their differences to the king and the great council; secondly, to inform him of the suit urged against him by the duchess-dowager of Orleans and her children, for the death of the late duke of Orleans, his brother, of the replies they had made to the charges he had brought against the late duke, and that they demanded instant justice on him the duke of Burgundy, and that neither law nor reason ought to prevent sentence being passed by the king according to the conclusions that had been drawn up against him.

* Probably a mistake for Guichard.

The duke of Burgundy shortly answered, that in regard to the first point, he was willing, as was right for him to do, to obey the king's orders, but that his brother-in-law, John of Bavaria, who had married his sister, had most earnestly solicited his assistance against the commonalty and his subjects of Liege, who had rebelled, and even held him besieged. Similar requests had been made to duke William, count of Hainault, his brother in law, and also brother-in-law to John of Bavaria: wherefore the armaments could not now be broken up, since during the time the ambassadors would be negotiating between the two parties, John of Bavaria, their bishop and lord, might be in great danger from his rebellious subjects, and their success might serve for an example and inducement for other subjects to resist their lords, and give rise to an universal rebellion. He added, that the king and his council might, without any prejudice to themselves, have refrained from so readily listening to such requests, as none of the aforesaid parties were subjects to the kingdom of France.

In regard to the second point, he, John duke of Burgundy, made answer, that instantly

on his return from this expedition he would wait on the king of France, and act towards him, and all others, in a manner becoming a good subject, and the near relationship in which he stood to the king.

The ambassadors, finding they could not obtain more satisfactory answers to the points on which they were sent, were obliged to be contented. They resolved, however, to wait the event of this expedition against the Liegeois; and during that time there came to the duke of Burgundy, from the country of Hainault, his brother-in-law duke William, accompanied by the counts de Conversan, de Namur, and de Salines, in Ardennes, with many notable lords, as well knights as esquires, from Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Ostrevant, and other places, to the number of twelve hundred helmets *, or thereabout, and two thousand infantry well equipped, with from five to six hundred carriages laden with provision and military stores.

Many councils were held at Flourines, and in that neighbourhood, as to their future conduct, and whither they might march their

* 'Bachines.' Q. Is not this rather *lances?* the more usual term.

army with the greatest probability of success. It was determined that duke William should command the van, and, as he advanced, destroy the whole country with fire and sword; that the duke of Burgundy, with the earl of Mar and the main body, should direct their march along the causeway of Branchaut, which leads strait to Tongres and Maestricht. In the last place, the lord de Pier-vves * and the Liegeois had, as has been before said, besieged their bishop and lord, John of Bavaria.

In consequence of this resolution, the two dukes began their march by different roads, and destroyed all the country on the Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, and met on the Saturday evening, about vespers, in the town of Montenach, situated on the above causeway. In this place and neighbourhood was the whole army lodged, forming but one body; and two marshals were appointed to command and find quarters for it;—on the part of the duke of Burgundy, the lord de Vergy †,—and on that of duke William, the lord de Jeumont. They

* Before called Pieruels: rightly Parwis.

† John III. de Vergy, lord of Champlite, seneschal, mareschal, and governor, of Burgundy.

had under their immediate orders five hundred helmets, seven hundred cross-bows, and fifteen hundred archers, all men of tried courage, with sixteen hundred carriages, as well carts as waggons, laden with arms, ammunition and provision, and all other necessaries for such an expedition.

On this Saturday, the lord de Pier-vves, and his son the newly-elected bishop of Liege, as they were besieging Maestricht, learnt from their spies, that the two before-mentioned dukes were rapidly advancing against them, and burning the country on their line of march. They instantly raised the siege, and retreated to the city of Liege with full forty thousand combatants, where they fixed their quarters, Liege being only five leagues distant from Maestricht. The commanders there held a council, with such of the inhabitants as had not been at the siege; and at its close it was proclaimed through different parts of the town, by orders of the governor and his son, the bishop, that every man capable of bearing arms should, on the morrow-morning, at the sound of a bell, be ready equipped to follow their commanders out of the town whithersoever they might lead them.

In consequence of this order, on the morrow, the 22d day of September 1408, there issued out of Liege, according to computation, about fifty thousand armed men. In this number were from five to six hundred well armed, in the french manner, on horseback, and from one hundred to six score english archers, in their pay. They were followed by infinite numbers of carts and other carriages, and a mob of people dressed in various manners, according to their own fancies.

The bell tolled at break of day, and they then sallied forth in good array, following their governor and bishop, very eager to offer combat to the enemy. Their governor had frequently warned them of the dangers that might ensue from a battle, as their enemies were, for the greater part, nobles or gentlemen accustomed to war and obedience to their commanders, which was not the case with them; and that it would be more to their advantage to remain within well-inclosed towns and castles harrassing the enemy by various means, and so tiring him out that he should be forced to quit their country.

This advice, however, was not agreeable to the Liegeois, for it seemed to them that

their numbers were so great that the enemy could not resist them; and they were not well pleased with what their governor had told them. The governor, perceiving the Liegeois determined on battle, led them into the plain, and drew them up in handsome array. He frequently exhorted them to behave themselves valiantly, and with one accord, this day against the enemy, who was marching to attack them, and to defend with courage their lives and liberties.

They marched near to Tongres, which is five leagues distant from Liege, whither the two dukes had advanced on the Saturday; for they had already heard the siege of Maestricht was broken up, and that the men of Liege were intending to offer them battle. After some councils had been holden with the captains and the most experienced in their army, they sent off, very early on the Sunday morning, two hundred light troops, under the command of Robert le Roux and some other noblemen of the country, to inquire into the truth of what they had heard, and to see what the enemy was about. They shortly returned, and told the dukes, that the intelligence they had received was true, for that they had seen

the Liegeois in great numbers marching in battle-array. The dukes, on hearing this, commanded their men to arm, and to draw up in order of battle. When this was done, they marched to meet the Liegeois, and scarcely had they advanced half a league when they appeared in sight.

The Liegeois also saw them, for they were near to Tongres. Both armies advancing, the dukes then posted themselves and all their infantry on a very advantageous spot; and thinking the enemy would attempt to dislodge them, they formed their army into one battalion, the better to support the attack, and placed their baggage in their rear. They posted the greater part of their archers and cross-bows on their right and left as wings. The lord de Miraumont this day commanded the archers, by orders of the duke of Burgundy, and with great credit to himself. The duke of Burgundy was on the right, and duke William on the left of the army, each attended by his own people.

After the proper orders had been given, and every arrangement made according to the advice of the most experienced officers, very many new knights were created. The men of Liege, swelled with pride, and arrogantly

considering the army of their opponents as infinitely inferior to them, marched on the right for an eminence called the heights of Hasbane, where they halted in handsome array. They had with them the standard of St Lambert, and those of their different guilds; and the reason why they had halted on this spot was, that some of their old men had told them that it was there their ancestors had gained a victory, and they flattered themselves with similar success.

They then formed their army in handsome order, and played off many cannons against their enemies, which annoyed them very much. It should be known, that between the two armies was a narrow valley, at the bottom of which was a ditch to carry off the water in times of rain.

The two dukes having with their army remained stationary, observing that the Liegeois did not seem inclined to quit their position, and begin the battle, held a short council with their ablest officers, and thinking success was more likely to follow the most courageous, determined to advance slowly toward them in battle-array, on account of the weight of their arms, and attack them where they were, before they could

fortify themselves, or increase their numbers by reinforcements.

In consequence, five hundred men at arms, on horseback, were ordered to attack the army of Liege on its rear, and about a thousand infantry, under the command of the lords de Croy, de Helly, de Neufville and de Raise, knights, with Enguerrand de Bournouville, esquire, on the part of the duke of Burgundy; and by the lords de Hamette and de Ligne, knights, with Robert le Roux, esquire, who instantly advanced into the plain according to their orders.

The Liegeois, observing so large a detachment quit the duke's army, and march away, as it were, thought they were running off from fear of their great numbers, and began shouting, in their language, 'Fuyo, fuyo!' and repeating this word many times. The lord de Pier-vves, the governor, like an able man, well versed in war, frequently, but gently, checked them for making this noise, saying, 'My very dear friends, that troop on horseback which you see, are not running away, as you suppose; but when that other body of infantry, much greater, as you may observe, shall be advanced near enough to begin the

attack, those on horseback will instantly wheel about, like skilful soldiers, and charge your rear, with a design to divide your army, while the others shall attack you in front. Notwithstanding we have every appearance of a successful issue to our battle, I have always advised you to the contrary; and though your hearts are set upon it, as if already sure of victory, I remain still in the same opinion,—because you are not so well used to warfare, nor armed like to your adversaries, who have learnt all military exercises from their childhood. This was the reason why I proposed avoiding a battle; for it would have been more to your advantage to have defended your towns and fortresses, and whenever a favourable opportunity offered, to have fallen on your enemies, so that they would have been forced to have quitted your country. However, the day you have so ardently wished for is now come; and I beg of you to put your hopes in God, and boldly and steadily exert yourselves in the defence of your country against the enemy now marching to attack you.'

Having finished this speech, he wanted to mount some of his most determined men on horseback to oppose the detachment then on

the plain; but in truth the commonalty would not suffer it to be done, and uttered against him many reproaches, calling him a traitor.

He patiently suffered their rude ignorance, and hastily commanded the army to be formed into a square, in the front of which was a body drawn up in the form of a triangle,—and the carts and baggage were towards the rear, on the right and left of his army, handsomely arranged: their horses were in the rear, on one of the wings, intermixed with their archers and cross-bows,—but they were of little value, except the english archers, who were better disposed of in other places.

The lord de Pier-vves, accompanied by his son the bishop and some of his best companions in arms, like a good commander, posted himself at the head of his army, fronting the enemy.

During this time, the two dukes began their march, gaily exhorting their men to behave themselves gallantly against the enemy, a rude and ignorant people, who had rebelled against their lord, and who confidently trusted in their superior numbers for success,—telling their men, that if they acted as they expected

they would, victory would infallibly be theirs, and they would gain everlasting honour.

When the dukes had made such like speeches, they retired to their posts, and under their banners, and advanced slowly toward the enemy, who kept up a heavy fire against them with their cannons.

The banner-bearer of the duke of Burgundy was a very valiant knight, called sir James de Courtjambe, who, accidentally falling on his knees as he marched, alarmed many, who thought it was an unfavourable omen of their success; but he was soon raised by the help of those of his guard, and behaved himself honourably the whole day. This knight was a native of Burgundy. The banner of duke William was that day borne by a gallant knight, called sir Hoste d'Escaussines, who behaved himself right well.

When the two armies met, the conflict became very severe on each side, and lasted for upwards of an hour, when many deadly blows were given by both parties. At this moment, the detachment on horseback, with the infantry, according to their orders, advanced to the rear of the Liegeois; but from the position

of their baggage-waggons, they had much difficulty to force their way. At length, by dint of courage, they succeeded, and, having gained an entrance, began to lay about them so vigorously that the army of the enemy was divided,—and they saw full six thousand Liegeois quit their ranks, with their guns and the banners of their guilds, and take flight with all speed towards a village half a league from the field of battle.

When the detachment perceived this, they left off the attack they had begun, and pursued the runaways, whom they charged, not once, but several times, beating down and slaying them without mercy,—and, in short, routed them so effectually that, through fear of death, they fled here and there, into woods and other places, to hide themselves.

This party of the Liegeois being either killed, dispersed, or taken prisoners, the horsemen returned to their main body, gallantly fighting the enemy, who, it must be said, defended themselves courageously. In truth, the event of this battle was some time doubtful,—for, during one half hour, it could not be known which side would be victorious. The noise of their war-cries was

frightful:—the Burgundians and Hainaulters shouted under their banners, 'Our Lady for Burgundy! Our Lady for Hainault!' and the Liegeois, in their turn, shouted, 'St Lambert for Pier-vves!'

The men of Liege would perhaps have conquered, if this detachment on horseback, when returned from the defeat of the runaways, had not again fallen on their rear, and behaved so marvellously well that those who opposed them were pierced through, and all attempts to check them were vain. A great slaughter was made by them in a short time, for none were admitted to ransom; and by their vigour whole ranks fell one over the other, for now all the weight and power of the infantry were brought against them.

The defeat once begun, there were such heaps of dead and wounded that it was melancholy to behold, for they were thicker in many places than stooks of corn in harvest. This ought not to occasion surprise; for when the common people are assembled, badly armed, and puffed up with their extravagant desires, although they be in great numbers, yet shall they hardly be able to resist an army composed of noblemen well tried in arms, even when God

shall permit it so to be. At this period of the battle, and near to the banner of the duke of Burgundy, where the conflict was the strongest, fell the lord de Pierre-vves and his two sons,—namely, the one who had been elected bishop of Liege and his brother: they were instantly put to death.

The heir of Salmes*, who bore the standard of St Lambert, namely, the eldest son to the count de Salmes*, who was in the army of the two dukes; sir John Collet, and many other knights and esquires to the amount of upwards of five hundred; all the english archers, and about twenty-eight thousand of the commonalty, were left dead on the field,—and more perished by arrow-shots than by any other weapon.

Sir Baldwin de Montgardin, knight, to save his life, surrendered himself to the duke of Burgundy:—he was led out of the engagement, and afterward given by the duke to sir Wicart de Bours.

I have no need to particularise the great courage and coolness of the duke of Burgundy, nor how he galloped to different parts of the army, exhorting them to act well,—nor how,

* Salmes. Q. Salines?

until the end of the battle, he most gallantly behaved himself,—for in truth, his conduct was such that he was praised and spoken of by all knights and others; and although he was frequently covered with arrows and other missile weapons, he did not on that day lose one drop of blood.

When he was asked after the defeat, if they should cease from slaying the Liegeois, he replied, 'Let them all die together! for I will not that any prisoners be made, nor that any be ransomed!!'

In the like gallant manner did duke William, the other princes, and in general the whole body of the chivalry and nobility of the two dukes behave themselves. There were slain from five to six hundred of their men; and among the number were, John de la Chapelle, knight to the above duke,—sir Flourimont de Brimeu, John de la Trimouille, who on this day had been made a knight,—Hugotin de Nambon, John de Theune, viscount de Brimequet, a native of Hainault,—Rollant de la Mote, and others, to the amount of one hundred and six score gentlemen: the rest were varlets *.

* This battle was fought on the plains of Eichtfeld, near Tongres.

Just as the dukes had gained the victory, about two thousand men made a sally from Tongres, to assist the Liegemen. When they saw they were defeated, they retreated to their town, but were so closely pursued by the body of horse that had done such essential service that very many of them were killed.

The two dukes, seeing their victory was now complete, met, and returned thanks to the Creator, congratulating with one another for their success. They had tents pitched on the field of battle, and remained there for three days and three nights.

The french ambassadors, having now taken their leave, departed for Tournay, and continued their road to Paris to the king and his council; but prior to their departure, the duke of Burgundy had dispatched a messenger to the king of France, with letters to inform him and his good friends in Paris of the fortunate event of the battle. This news was not very agreeable to many who were intending to urge the king to prosecute the duke of Burgundy for the murder of the late duke of Orleans,—and on the contrary, it gave great joy to his friends.

On Monday, the morrow of the battle, about the hour of twelve, John of Bavaria, bishop of Liege, attended by the heir of Heinseberg, and several others, nobles and not nobles, to the number of six hundred helmets, or thereabout, came from the town of Maestricht, wherein they had been besieged, to the camp of the two dukes, and most humbly thanked them for the succour they had afforded him. He and his party were received with much joy; and, on his arrival, he was presented with the head of the lord de Pier-vves, which had been found among the dead, with his two sons, and was fixed to the top of a lance, that all who pleased might see it!

On the following Tuesday, the feast of St Fremin, a martyr, the inhabitants of Liege, Huy, Dinant and Tongres, and of all the other good towns in the bishoprick of Liege, excepting the castle of Bouillon, hearing of the great destruction of their countrymen, and the power of their enemies, were panicstruck, and, seeing no probability of any assistance, surrendered themselves to the obedience of the dukes of Burgundy and of Holland. They

sent to them ambassadors to this effect, and also to supplicate John of Bavaria, their bishop and lord, that he would graciously have pity upon them, and grant them his pardon.

The bishop, through the intercession of the two dukes, complied with their request, on condition that such as had been most active in promoting the rebellion, many of whom were still alive, whose names they would set down, should be given up to the two dukes, to do by them as they in their justice should think right; and each of the towns gave sufficient hostages for the due performance of the terms.

On the ensuing Thursday, the two dukes and the bishop, with the whole army, broke up the camp, and advanced toward the town of Liege. The duke of Burgundy was quartered in the town of Flauye, on the river Meuse, one league distant from Liege, and duke William among the mountains.

On the following Sunday, the dukes and the bishop held a full council, to which all their ministers were admitted, on the present state of affairs. Other councils were continued until the Tuesday, when the bishop made his entry into Liege, and was received with great

humility by the remnant of its inhabitants. The most culpable in the late rebellion had been before arrested and thrown into prison in this and in all the other towns.

The bishop went first to the cathedral church of St Lambert to offer his prayers, and reconcile himself with the chapter: after this he went to his palace, when he was most humbly entreated by the people to have mercy on them, which he granted; and, shortly after, he returned to the camp of the two dukes.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, on the morrow, the dukes and the bishop, with several nobles of the army, assembled on an elevated spot near the camp, whither sir John de Jeumont, marshal to duke William, by the commands of the two dukes and the bishop, had ordered the heir of Rochefort, a rich nobleman, John de Saramie*, knight, and fifteen other citizens, to be brought from the town, and had their heads cut off, one after another, by the executioner. Many churchmen, and some women, were also drowned in the Meuse for having been concerned in the rebellion!

* The lord d'Agimont, son to the lord of Rochefort, and the lord de Saraing, according to Placentius.

On the morrow, the dukes and the bishop moved with the army to a town three leagues distant, called Beaucloquet, where many conferences were held, on the state of the country. The count de Nevers joined his brother, the duke of Burgundy, at this place, with four hundred combatants. Hither also sir John de Jeumont ordered nineteen citizens from the town of Huy to be brought, who underwent a similar punishment to those of Liege, and for the same cause; and, as before, many churchmen and women were drowned *.

Amé de Viry, a Savoyard, a nobleman well experienced in war, came hither also to aid the duke of Burgundy, and accompanied by three hundred helmets from that country. When the dukes and the bishop had for several days consulted together on the affairs of Liege, it was at length concluded, with the approbation of John of Bavaria, now surnamed John the Pitiless, that they should all meet again in the city of Tournay, on St Luke's day next

* There seems to have been some pretext, on the score of retaliation, for the commission of these barbarities, the insurgents, during the time of their power, having exercised many similar enormities against those of the government faction.

ensuing, to determine finally on the measures to be pursued touching these matters.

After many executions had taken place in the bishoprick of Liege on those who had been concerned in the rebellion, and when the fortifications of the towns of Huy, Dinant and others, had been destroyed, the two dukes began their march homeward, taking with them a number of persons from Liege, who had been given as hostages for the observance of all the articles of the treaty that should be made with them. Some of them were sent by duke William to Mons and Valenciennes, and some to Lille, Arras, and other places belonging to the duke of Burgundy, who went to his county of Flanders, and duke William to Hainault, after they had disbanded their men at arms. The greater part returned to their homes much enriched by the plunder of the Liegeois, who, thunderstruck by the misfortune that had befallen them, became stupified and indolent.

Many great lords attended the duke of Burgundy on this expedition: among them were, from Burgundy, sir John de Châlons *,

* John, third son of Louis I. and brother of Louis II. de Châlon, counts of Auxerre.

sir Gaultier de Ruples, the lord de Vergy *, marshal of Burgundy, the lord de St George, sir John de la Balme †, sir William de Champ-divers, sir James de Courtjambe, the lord de Montagu, and many more. From Picardy, the lords de Croy ‡, de Heilly, de Fosseux, de Vaurin, sir Bort Guieret and his brothers, the lord of Inchy, the lord of Raisse, the lord de Brimeu, sir Regnault de Crequy lord of Comtes §, Enguerrand de Bournouville, the lord de Ront, sir Raoul de Flandres, the lord de Poix, sir Wincart de Bours, the lord d'Auxy, the lord de Mailly, the lord de Thiennes and the lord d'Azincourt. From Flanders, sir John and sir Louis de Guystelle, the lord de Hames, sir John de Bailleul, sir

* Mentioned in p. 23.

† Amblard I. lord of La Baûme, had issue, Peter, Perceval, *John*, William, and Louis. John was a monk at Ambronnai; but Perceval, who continued the line, had issue, Amblard II. and William, surnamed Morelet, who was grand butler of Burgundy in 1430. Perhaps he is the *great lord* here meant.

‡ Mentioned in vol. i. p. 135.

§ John III. lord of Crequy and Canaples, is mentioned by Froissart. He had issue, John IV. lord of Crequy, &c. *Reginald*, killed at Agincourt, and others.

Collart de Fosseux, and others, the principal nobles of the country.

In like manner, duke William had assembled his nobles, with many others, his allies; among whom was sir John de Bethune, brother to the viscount de Meaux. Common report said, that Anthony duke of Brabant, brother to the duke of Burgundy, and Waleran de Luxembourg count de St Pol, had refused their assistance, because they had not been made acquainted with the terms and agreements entered into by John of Bavaria on the one part, and the lord de Pier-vves on the other, for the resignation of the bishoprick of Leige. They also made other excuses.

When the day appointed for the meeting of the duke of Burgundy, duke William and the bishop of Liege, in the town of Tournay, for the final settlement of the affairs of Liege drew near, the inhabitants of that town sent them a petition, by ambassadors chosen from among the principal citizens, to request they would fix on some other town, as the numbers of their attendants would greatly harrass and impoverish them, considering the very small stock of provision that was in Tournay. Their request was granted,—and the town of

Lille was chosen for their meeting on the day that had before been fixed on.

Thither all the hostages from Liege were conducted, and brought into the presence of the aforesaid dukes and bishop, with several more that had been deputed to hear what judgment should be given, which was as follows:

'The dukes of Burgundy and Holland declare, that this their judgment shall be punctually fulfilled in every respect, with regard to the present time, reserving to themselves the power of making any future alterations in it as often as, and in what manner, they shall please.

'First, They consent that the inhabitants of Liege, of the towns and country of that bishoprick, situated within the district of Liege, the country of Los, the countries of Hasbane, St Tron, the territory of Bouillon, shall enjoy their customary franchises and privileges. They order, that the citizens of Liege, and of the other towns above named, do bring to the monastery des Escolliers, in the town of Mons in Hainault, on the morrow of Martinmas-day next ensuing, all the letters patent and charters of their laws and privileges,

which they possess,—which they will deliver into the hands of such as may be commissioned by the said dukes to receive them. Those who bring them shall make oath, on the salvation of their own souls, and of the souls of them who sent them, that they have not fraudulently left behind any charters of their laws and privileges.

'Item, the dukes aforesaid declare, that should the city of Liege, or any other town, neglect to send, or fraudulently retain, any of their charters, that town so retaining them shall be for ever deprived of its privileges and particular laws.

'Item, the lords aforesaid will, that these charters and letters patent be delivered to the commissioners punctually on the morrow of Martinmas-day.

'Item, they likewise ordain, that when these charters and privileges shall have been duly examined, and new ones drawn up and delivered, neither the bishop of Liege nor his chapter shall grant any new privileges to the inhabitants, without the consent of the two dukes or their successors.

'Item, they also ordain, that henceforward the commonalty shall not appoint or nominate,

in the aforesaid towns and bishoprick, any officers, such as governors, masters of trades, doctors of arts,—but that from this day all such offices be annulled.

'Item, they ordain, that all bailiffs, provosts, mayors, and others bearing similar titles, shall be nominated by the bishop of Liege and the count de Los;—and also, that the sheriffs in such towns as claim the right of shrievalty shall be renewed yearly, and a certain number appointed according to the exigency of the case and size of the towns. In no large town shall father and son, two brothers-in-law, two cousins-german, the uncle and nephew, nor any one who has married the mother of another, be appointed sheriffs at the same time, in order that no improper favours be shewn from partiality of kindred. All officers shall swear solemnly on their creation, to preserve and abide by every article and point contained in the constitution delivered to them.

'Item, they ordain, that the bishop of Liege may, each year, at the expiration of the shrievalty, appoint such sheriffs as he shall please, or re-appoint those of the preceding year, or others according to his good pleasure, provided they are not any way connected by

blood, as has been before mentioned. All disputes respecting the persons or fortunes of the inhabitants of the different towns having sheriffs, shall be brought before their jurisdictions,—and at the end of the year, the sheriffs shall be bound to render an account of their administration before their lord, the bishop of Liege, or his deputies, and before one commissary deputed by the chapter, and another on the part of the different churches.

'Item, they ordain, that all guilds and fraternities in the city of Liege, and in all the other towns, shall henceforth cease and be annulled; and that the banners of the above guilds in Liege shall be delivered up to commissaries, on an appointed day that shall be made known to them; and the banners of the other towns shall be brought by the inhabitants to a certain place on an appointed day, to the commissioners named to receive them, and who shall do with them as they may judge expedient.

'Item, they also ordain, that in the above city, and in the towns within the said bishoprick, no one shall be reputed a citizen unless he shall have really resided within such town in which

he shall claim his right of citizenship. And all such rights of citizenship are for the present annulled; for although there may be resident citizens in the aforesaid towns, they cannot, in such right, claim any moveables by reason of inheritance, without the cognizance of the lords under whom such persons have lived, and in whose territory such inheritances are situated.

'Item, they ordain, that from this moment, and in times to come, the towns of Huy, Dinant, and others within the territory of Liege, the country of Los, the country of Hasbane, and all within the jurisdiction of Liege, shall no longer call together any assembly, or congregation of people, under pretence of holding councils or otherwise, without the consent of their aforesaid bishop and lord, or of the chapter of Liege, should the bishoprick at the time be vacant.

'Item, they ordain, that the bishop of Liege, or any others having the government of the said territory and its dependancies, shall never bear arms against the king or kings of France, their successors; nor against the two said dukes, their successors in the said duchies and counties; nor against the count de Namur

for the time being, or his successors; nor against any of the countries of the aforesaid, except when ordered by the emperor, and only when the emperor shall be himself present: provided, nevertheless, that the king of France and the above-mentioned persons do not invade the territories of the bishop and chapter of Liege.

'Item, they likewise ordain, that in perpetual remembrance of this victory, and the conquest made over them by the above two dukes, they and their successors shall have a free passage, whenever they may choose to cross the river Meuse, through all towns in the territory of Liege, fortified or not, and with a body of men at arms or with few attendants according to their pleasure,—provided they do not permit any of the inhabitants of the said towns, villages, or country through which they shall pass, to be any way molested by their men,—and provisions shall be found them for their money, without demanding higher prices for the articles than they are usually sold for.

'Item, they ordain, that the coin of the aforesaid dukes and their successors shall have free currency throughout the territories and dependancies of the bishop and chapter of Liege.

'Item, they ordain, that a chapel shall be erected on the spot where the last victory was gained, and funds allotted for the support of four chaplains and two priests; and the said chapels shall be furnished with chasubles, chalices, and other ornaments for celebrating mass and such other divine services as shall be thought advisable for the eternal welfare of the souls of those who were slain in that battle. The nomination to the above benefices shall remain with the two dukes, according to regulations which they shall hereafter make between themselves,—the Liegeois only to be once at the expense of providing this chapel with sacred vessels and ornaments. The bishop of Liege shall allot from his revenues two hundred golden crowns of annual rent for the support of the four chaplains and two priests; that is to say, for each chaplain forty crowns, for each priest ten crowns, and for the repairs of the chapel twenty crowns.

'Item, the said dukes will, that on the twenty-third day of every month of September, on which day the battle took place, a mass shall be celebrated to the blessed Virgin, with great solemnity, by the provost or dean of the church of St Lambert, in Liege, who shall chaunt

it in the choir and at the grand altar, in commemoration of this victory, and for the welfare of the souls of those who fell in battle. The same shall be required of all the churches and chapels to monasteries, as well for men as women, within the said town of Liege, as of all others within its jurisdiction.

'Item, the said dukes require from the bishop of Liege and the chapter, that they strictly enjoin such services to be regularly performed on every twenty-third day of September throughout the diocese; and that all priests, after the performing of this service, shall be suffered peaceably to return to their homes.

'Item, they ordain, that the bishop of Liege and his successors, and such as may have the government of the country in times of a vacancy in the see, and the members of the chapter of Liege, shall appoint such governor of the castle of Huy as they shall approve of: in which castle, likewise, they shall not place a greater garrison, nor more stores of provision, than they shall judge expedient, like as an upright lord shall determine. They also insist on having a free ingress and regress into and from the town of

Huy and the adjacent country. They likewise ordain the same regulations respecting the castles of Escoquehen * and Bouillon, as to their governors, garrisons and stores.

'Item, the aforesaid dukes ordain, that should any one, however high his rank, attempt, by force, or otherwise, to deprive those of such gifts and preferments in the church, or any other offices for life, as have been usually granted by the bishops of Liege and their predecessors, the members of the chapter of Liege shall be bound to restore, and defend them in, their possessions to the utmost of their power, without any fraud whatever.

'Item, as there are still living many perverse conspirators, who are now fugitives from the territories of Liege and county of Los, and have retired into the neighbouring countries, where they have been received, the dukes aforesaid will appoint proper commissioners to make inquiry whither such wicked persons have gone, and publish their names. On the discovery of the places to which they have withdrawn, applications shall be made to the princes and lords thereof, that

* Escoquehen. Q. Stocheim?

they may be surrendered to the bishop of Liege, for him to inflict on them the punishments due to their deserts, or at least that such princes and lords may drive them out of their respective countries. But should these lords refuse to comply, or to do justice on such conspirators, they shall be for ever banished from the bishoprick of Liege, the county of Los, and their dependancies, as conspirators and movers of sedition; and it shall be proclaimed throughout the above countries, that no one receive them within their houses, but deliver them up to justice, should any attempt to return, demanding assistance from their lord, should there be a necessity for it. Should they be unable to arrest them, they shall denounce them to the nearest officers of justice, under pain of suffering corporal punishment, and having their fortunes confiscated, as would have been done to such conspirators and rebels. While exerting themselves in the performance of this duty, should they accidentally put to death any of such rebels, no consequences shall ensue to their loss.

'Item, they ordain that the walls of the castle of Thuin, with its gates and towers, be

razed, as well the part toward the town as that toward the mountain, and the ditches filled up.

'Item, the same to be done to the town of Fosse and to the town and castle of Commun,—which towns shall not be repaired. And in like manner shall all the posts on the river Sambre be destroyed, the ditches filled, and neither they nor the towns shall be ever again repaired, so that they may serve for places of defence to the inhabitants, on any pretence, in future times.

'Item, the gates, walls and towers of Dinant shall be pulled down, as well on the opposite side of the Meuse as on this; and the inhabitants shall never rebuild them again.

'Item, the inhabitants of the said towns of Thuin, Fosse, Commun and Dinant, or any persons from other towns, shall not rebuild or repair the fortified places between or on the two rivers Sambre and Meuse, on the road to Namur.

'Item, one of the gates of Tongres shall also be razed, namely, that which leads to Maestricht, with forty feet of wall on each side of the said gate, without a possibility of its ever being re-erected. The town of Tongres shall likewise, at its own expense, cause to be

filled up the trenches they had opened before the said town, when they besieged their lord within it, because they had put the country of Liege under heavy taxes, and had subjugated it.

'And whereas it is notorious, that very great losses have attended this subjugation, the aforesaid dukes will, that an aid be levied on this city, and the towns before mentioned, to the amount of two hundred and twenty thousand golden crowns, which shall be raised as soon as may be, being levied in proportion to the comparative riches of each inhabitant.

'Item, in case any of the hostages shall die before all the articles of this treaty are completed, the aforesaid lords will, that the town or district whence such hostage or hostages shall have been sent, do instantly furnish others of the same rank and property as those who have died.

'Item, they ordain, that when this treaty shall be properly engrossed, the bishop of Liege, his chapter, and the principal inhabitants, shall come to sign it, and engage, that should any articles of it be not completed according to the exact tenor of the terms, then for each omission or neglect the bishop, his successors, the chapter and chief towns shall forfeit two hundred

thousand golden crowns of the coin of the king of France, or other florins of gold of France, of the value of the aforesaid crowns. That is to say, fifty thousand to the then emperor or king of the Romans; to the king of France fifty thousand; and to each of the said dukes the like sum;—the whole to be levied on the lands and moveables of the said Liegeois, by seizure of their goods and bodies wherever they may be.

'They are likewise to signify their consent, that should obstacles be thrown in the way by any of the said towns to prevent the articles of the said treaty from being carried into effect, the bishop of Liege, and the archbishop of Cologne for the time being, shall be the arbitrators between such towns,—and their decision shall be final.

'When a legal pope shall be elected, and his authority over the whole church of God be acknowledged, then such as make opposition to the execution of the above treaty shall be laid under an interdict, which shall not be taken off, until sufficient reparation be made, and the aforesaid pecuniary forfeitures be paid.

'Should any of the towns, or their inhabitants, offer any insult, in contradiction

to the above treaty, to either of the said dukes or their successors, the bishop of Liege, or his vicar in his absence, the chapter and citizens shall be required to constrain the offenders to make full reparation within one month from the time of complaint being made. And should such reparation not be made within the month, as aforesaid, after the summons to that effect has been delivered, the country shall be liable to the same fines as before mentioned.

'The dukes of Burgundy and of Holland order, that all these articles be fairly engrossed, and then sealed with their seals, and then given to the lord bishop of Liege, or to his chapter, with a copy for the city of Liege and one for each principal town. In return, the bishop and the towns shall give to the dukes aforesaid letters signed with their great seals acknowledging the receipt of the above treaty, and promising obedience to all the articles of it, and binding themselves to the fines therein mentioned.

'As many noble persons and others, as well secular as ecclesiastic, have presented many petitions to complain of the great losses they have suffered during the late rebellion, and specifying their particular grievances,—

the dukes aforesaid, not having had time to examine them with the attention they deserve, will have them examined with all possible speed, and will attend to each of them.'

The whole of the above, having been written out fair, was, by the command of the two dukes aforesaid, publicly proclaimed in the great hall at Lille, and in their presence, the 24th day of October, in the year 1408.

CHAP. IV.

THE KING OF FRANCE HOLDS A GRAND COUNCIL AT PARIS, TO CONSIDER ON THE MANNER OF PROCEEDING AGAINST THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY FOR THE MURDER OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

DURING the expedition of the duke of Burgundy against the Liegeois, a great many of the principal lords were, by the king's orders, assembled at Paris. Among them were, Louis king of Sicily, Charles king of Navarre, the duke of Brittany, the duke of Bourbon, and several others, the greater part

of whom were friendly to the duchess-dowager of Orleans and her children in their prosecution of the duke of Burgundy. Many councils were held as to the manner in which the king should proceed against the duke of Burgundy, who was the principal actor in this murder, as has been before explained.

It was at length determined in these councils, that a most rigorous prosecution, in conformity to the laws, should be carried on against him; and should he refuse to obey, the king, with all his subjects and vassals, should march, with as great a force as could be raised, against him, to bring him and his abettors to due obedience.

At the same time, at the solicitations of the duchess of Orleans and her children, the king annulled all his letters of pardon which he had formerly granted to the duke of Burgundy, and declared them of no weight, in the presence of the queen, the duke of Acquitaine, the princes of the blood, and the whole of the council. The duchess demanded and obtained letters, confirming this renunciation of the pardon; after which, she and her daughter-in-law, wife to the young duke of Orleans, left Paris, and returned to Blois.

Not long after this, news came to Paris of the great victory which the duke of Burgundy had gained over the Liegeois. This was confirmed by the return of the king's ambassadors, sir Guichard Daulphin and sir William de Tignonville, who, as has been related, were present at the battle, and gave to the king and the lords then in Paris a most circumstantial account of it. On hearing this, several who had been most violent against the duke of Burgundy, now hung their heads, and began to be of a contrary opinion to what they had before held, fearing the steadiness, boldness and power of the duke, who was said to have a mind equal to the support of any misfortunes that should happen to him, and which would encourage him to oppose and conquer all attempts of his adversaries. In short, all the measures that had been adopted against him were dropped, and the men at arms were ordered to return to the places whence they had come.

Ambassadors had arrived from England to treat of a peace, or a truce for one year, between the kings of England and of France, which having obtained, they set out on their return, through Amiens and Boulogne, to

Calais. On the road, they heard of the grand victory of the duke of Burgundy, which surprised them very much,—and they gave him the surname of 'Jean sans peur.'

The duke of Burgundy was very active in attaching to his party noblemen and warriors from all countries, to strengthen himself against his enemies, of whom he was given to understand that he had many. He held on this subject several consultations with his two brothers and brothers-in-law, namely, duke William of Holland and John of Bavaria, to which were admitted his most trusty friends; and they deliberated long on the manner in which he should now carry himself. It was at length finally concluded, that he should openly oppose all, excepting the king of France and the duke of Acquitaine; and those present promised him aid and support with all the power of their vassals, on these terms.

CHAP. V.

THE KING OF FRANCE IS CARRIED, BY THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD, TO TOURS IN TOURAINE.——PEACE IS MADE IN THE TOWN OF CHARTRES.—THE DEATH OF THE DOWAGER DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.

THE king of France left Paris, accompanied by the kings of Sicily and Navarre, the queen, the duke of Acquitaine, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, who, with others of the blood-royal, conducted him, under the escort of a large body of men at arms, to Tours in Touraine, as his place of residence,—to the great displeasure of the inhabitants of Paris, who were so much troubled thereat that they barricadoed the streets with chains. They hastily sent to inform the duke of Burgundy, at Lille, of the king's departure, giving him to understand that the greater part of those who had carried him away from Paris were not well inclined towards him.

This intelligence was not very agreeable to the duke, for he suspected that the king had only been conducted to Tours that his enemies

might carry their measures against him more securely; for the lords who had the government knew well that the Parisians loved the duke of Burgundy, and would not that any other should have the government of the kingdom, believing, from the hints he had thrown out, that when in power he would abolish all gabelles and other taxes which oppressed the people.

The duke of Burgundy first consulted the dukes of Brabant and of Holland, and other steady friends, and then remanded his men at arms from Burgundy, who were on their march to their own country from Liege, and assembled another body from various parts. He advanced to Roye, in the Vermandois, where he mustered his men, and then marched them toward Paris. He quartered himself, on the 23d day of November, in the town of St Denis, and his forces in the adjacent country. On the morrow, as he was advancing with his men at arms in array toward Paris, two thousand or more combatants sallied out thence, and conducted him, with every mark of honour, to his hôtel of Artois.

Many of the Parisians sung carols in the squares, although all rejoicings had been strictly forbidden on his arrival, to avoid

increasing the envy of the princes of the blood. Some of the king's servants said to those who were singing carols, 'You may otherwise show your joy for his arrival, but you ought not thus to sing.' Notwithstanding this, all the principal citizens, and those in authority, showed him as much honour and respect as if he had been king himself.

A few days afterward, duke William, count of Hainault, arrived at Paris, well accompanied by unarmed men, and, at the request of the duke of Burgundy, set out for Tours, attended by the lords de Croy, de St George, de la Viefville, d'Olhaz, and others of the council of the duke, to negotiate his peace with the king, and the lords who had carried him from Paris. The count of Hainault was most honourably received at Tours by the king, the queen, and the other great lords; for the marriage had taken place between John duke of Touraine, second son to the king, and the daughter of the duke of Burgundy: he was also nearly related to the queen.

On the conclusion of the feasts made on his arrival, the count of Hainault and those who had accompanied him opened, in full council, the business of their mission, namely,

to make peace for the duke of Burgundy. After many discussions, it was resolved, that the king should send certain persons, selected by him, to hold a conference with the duke of Burgundy at Paris, and point out to him the means of his regaining the good graces of the king.

Duke Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen, Montagu grand master of the king's household, and other experienced counsellors, were nominated for this purpose; and they returned with the count de Hainault to Paris, when what had passed was told to the duke of Burgundy.

As all the circumstances of this treaty were not agreeable to the duke, and as he had many suspicions respecting Montagu, he was not disposed to receive the negotiators in the way they were sent to him. He even personally made many reproaches to Montagu, who bore them patiently, excusing himself for any thing that had passed. The treaty, however, having been altered and corrected, was sent back to the king at Tours, and in the end agreed to in the manner you shall hear.

While these negotiations were going forward, and before their conclusion, the

duchess-dowager of Orleans, daughter to Galeazzo duke of Milan, died in the town of Blois, broken-hearted at not having been able to obtain justice from the king and council against the duke of Burgundy for the murder of her late lord and husband, Louis duke of Orleans. The duke of Burgundy was much rejoiced at this event, for the duchess had bitterly carried on her prosecution against him.

Her heart was buried at Paris, near that of her husband, and her body in the church of the canons at Blois. After her death, Charles, her eldest son, was duke of Orleans and of Valois, count of Blois and of Beaumont, lord of Coni and of Ast, with many other lordships:—Philip, the second son, was count of Vertus,—and John, the youngest, was named count of Angoulême. These three brothers, and one sister, thus became orphans, but they had been very well educated; yet, by the deaths of the duke and duchess of Orleans, they were much weakened in support and advice,—and several of the king's ministers were not so zealous to prosecute the duke of Burgundy as they had been. This was very apparent in the negotiations which took place some little time

after the death of the duchess, between the duke of Burgundy and the children of Orleans; for although the treaty sent by the king was not wholly to the liking of the duke, as has been said, yet it was so corrected that the parties accepted of it, in the following terms:

First, it was ordered by the king and his great council, that the duke of Burgundy should depart from Paris with his men at arms, and return to his own country, where he was to remain until a certain day, namely, the first Wednesday in February, when he was to meet the king at the town of Chartres, accompanied only by one hundred gentlemen at arms, and the children of Orleans with fifty. It was also ordered, that duke William, count of Hainault, should have under his command four hundred of the king's men at arms, to preserve the peace. It was also ordered, that the duke of Burgundy, when he appeared before the king, should be attended by one of his council, who should repeat the words he was to say; and the duke, in confirmation of them, was to add, 'We will and agree that it should be thus.'

Afterward, according to the tenor of the treaty, the king was to say to the duke of

Burgundy, 'We will, that the count de Vertus, our nephew, have one of your daughters in marriage.' The duke was by this treaty to assign over to his daughter three thousand livres parisis yearly, and give her one hundred and fifty thousand golden francs.

When this treaty had been concluded, duke William set out from Paris for Hainault; and shortly after, the duke of Burgundy disbanded his men at arms, and left Paris to go to Lille, whither he had summoned the duke of Brabant his brother, duke William and the bishop of Liege, his brothers-in-law, and many other great lords.

At this period, there was a great quarrel between the duke of Brabant and duke William. It was caused by the father of duke William having borrowed in former times from the late duchess of Brabant one hundred and fifty thousand florins to carry on a war against some of his rebellious subjects in Holland, which sum the duke of Brabant had claimed as belonging to him. He had in consequence, by the advice of his Brabanters, taken possession of a castle called Huesden *, situated between Brabant and Holland.

* Heusden,—a town between Gorcum and Bois-le-Duc.

The duke of Burgundy took great pains to make up the quarrel between these two princes, that they might the more effectually assist him in his plans, which were very extensive. After this business had been settled, and the parties had separated, duke William assembled in Hainault, according to the king of France's orders, four hundred men at arms and as many archers. The principal lords among them were, the counts de Namur, de Conversant and de Salmes. The duke of Burgundy, conformably to the treaty, set out, the day after Ash-Wednesday, attended by his son-in-law the count de Penthievre *, and lay at Bapaume. Thence he went to Paris, with duke William, the above-named lords, the count de St Pol, the count de Vaudemont †, and several others of the nobility.

On Saturday, the 2d day of March, they arrived all together at the town of Gallardon, four leagues distant from Chartres. The Wednesday following, duke William of Holland advanced with his body of forces to Chartres, where the king then was. On the ensuing Saturday, the duke of Burgundy set out from

* Oliver count of Penthievre, mentioned before.

† Frederic, or Ferry, count of Vaudemont.

Gallardon, to wait on the king, escorted by six hundred men at arms; but when he approached Chartres, he dismissed them all, excepting one hundred light horsemen, in compliance with the treaty, and thus entered Chartres about ten o'clock in the morning, riding strait to the church as far as the cloisters of the canons, where he was lodged.

At this same time, the duke of Orleans, in company with his brother the count de Vertus, and, according to the treaty, attended by only fifty men at arms, entered the church of our Lady at Chartres, with the king their uncle, the queen, the duke of Acquitaine, and several princes of the blood.

That the king and lords might not be pressed upon by the spectators, and that all might plainly see the ceremony, a scaffolding was erected in the church, on which the king was seated near the crucifix. Round him were placed the queen, the dauphin and dauphiness, daughter to the duke of Burgundy, the kings of Sicily and Navarre, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon; the cardinal de Bar, the marquis du Pont his brother, the archbishop of Sens, and the bishop of Chartres, with other counts, prelates, and the family of Orleans were

behind the king. At the entrance of the church, by the king's orders, were a body of men at arms drawn up in battle-array.

It was not long before the duke of Burgundy entered the church, and on his advancing toward the king, all the lords, excepting the king, queen and dauphin, rose up from their seats. The duke, on his approach to the king, kneeled down with his advocate the lord d'Ollehaing, who repeated to the king the following words:

'Sire, behold here my lord of Burgundy, your subject and cousin, who is thus come before you, because he has heard you are angry with him, for the action he has committed against the person of the late duke of Orleans your brother, for the good of yourself and your kingdom,—the truth of which he is ready to declare and prove to you, whenever you shall please. My lord, therefore, entreats of you, in the most humble manner possible, that you would be pleased to withdraw from him your anger, and restore him to your good graces.' When the lord d'Ollehaing had said this, the duke of Burgundy himself addressed the king, saying, 'Sire, I entreat this of you:'—when instantly the duke of

Berry, seeing the king made no reply, bade the duke of Burgundy retire some paces behind,—which being done, the duke of Berry, kneeling before the king, said something to him in a low voice,—and immediately the dauphin, the kings of Sicily and Navarre, with the duke of Berry, knelt down to the king, and said, 'Sire, we supplicate that you would be pleased to listen to the prayer of your cousin the duke of Burgundy.' The king answered them, 'We will that it be so,—and we grant it from our love to you.'

The duke of Burgundy then approached the king, who said to him,—'Fair cousin, we grant your request, and pardon you fully for what you have done.' After this, he advanced, with the lord d'Ollehaing, toward the children of Orleans, who, as I have said, were behind the king weeping much.

The lord d'Ollehaing addressed them, saying, 'My lords, behold the duke of Burgundy, who entreats of you to withdraw from your hearts whatever hatred or revenge you may harbour within them, for the act perpetrated against the person of my lord of Orleans, your father, and that henceforward ye may remain good friends.' The duke of

Burgundy then added, 'And I beg this of you.' No answer being made, the king commanded them to accede to the request of his fair cousin the duke of Burgundy. Upon which they replied, 'Sire, since you are pleased to command us, we grant him his request, and shall extinguish all the hatred we bore him; for we should be sorry to disobey you in any thing that may give you pleasure.'

The cardinal de Bar then, by the king's orders, brought an open Bible, on which the two parties, namely, the two sons of the late duke of Orleans and the duke of Burgundy swore on the holy evangelists, touching them with their hands, that they would mutually preserve a firm peace towards each other, without any open or secret attempts contrary to the full meaning of their oaths. When this was done, the king said, 'We will that henceforth ye be good friends; and I most strictly enjoin, that neither of you attempt any thing to the loss or hurt of the other, nor against any persons who are attached to you, or who may have given you advice or assistance; and that you show no hatred against any one on this occasion, under pain of offending against our royal authority,—excepting, however, those

who actually committed this murder, who shall be for ever banished our kingdom.'

After this speech of the king, these princes again swore they would faithfully abide by their treaty. The duke of Burgundy then advanced to salute the wife of the dauphin, the duke of Acquitaine; and about an hour after this ceremony had taken place the duke took his leave of the king, queen, and the lords present, and set out from Chartres for Gallardon, where he dined. Many who were there were very much rejoiced that matters had gone off so well; but others were displeased, and murmured, saying, that henceforward it would be no great offence to murder a prince of the blood, since those who had done so were so easily acquitted, without making any reparation, or even begging pardon.

The duke of Orleans and his brother shortly after took leave of the king, queen, dauphin, and the lords of the court, and returned, with their attendants, to Blois, whence they had come, not well satisfied, any more than their council, with the peace that had been made.

The marquis du Pont, son to the duke of Bar, and cousin to the duke of Burgundy, who

before this day was not beloved by him, on account of the murder of the duke of Orleans, followed him to Gallardon, where they dined publicly together in great friendship and concord. About two o'clock in the afternoon duke William, the count de St Pol, and other great lords, visited the duke of Burgundy at his lodgings in Gallardon, and then returned together toward Paris.

The king, the queen, the dauphin, and the other kings, princes and cardinals, arrived at Paris on Mid-Lent Sunday; and the dukes of Burgundy and of Holland, with the cardinal de Bordeaux, who was at that time in Paris, on his way to the council of Pisa, went out to meet them, followed by upwards of two hundred thousand Parisians of both sexes, eager to receive the king, singing carols, as he entered the gates, and conducting him with great rejoicings to his palace.

They were very happy that the king was returned to Paris, and also that a peace had been concluded respecting the death of the late duke of Orleans. They attributed the whole to the great mercy of God, who had permitted that such strong symptoms of a civil war should be so readily extinguished; but

they did not foresee or consider the consequences that ensued.

The greater part of the Parisians were obstinately attached to the duke of Burgundy, through the hope that by his means all the most oppressive taxes would be abolished; but they did not see clearly all the mischiefs that afterward befel the kingdom and themselves,—for in a very short time, as you shall hear, a most cruel contention broke out between the families of Orleans and Burgundy.

CHAP. VI.

THE QUEEN OF SPAIN DIES DURING THE SITTING OF THE COUNCIL AT PISA.—THE MARRIAGE OF THE KING OF DENMARK, NORWAY AND SWEDEN.

In this year died the queen of Spain *, sister to Henry king of England, and mother to the

* Catherine of Lancaster, wife of Henry III. and mother of John II. kings of Castile. I do not find a queen of Portugal in the catalogue of her children; but this event seems to be here strangely misplaced. Turquet says, 'L'an

young king of Spain and queen of Portugal. The Spaniards after her death sent home all the english servants, male and female, belonging to the late queen, who returned to England in much grief and sorrow at heart.

At this same season, great numbers of prelates, archbishops, bishops and abbots, set out from various countries of Christendom to attend the council at Pisa which was assembling to restore union to the church, which had for a long time suffered a schism, to the great displeasure of many princes and well-inclined persons.

About this same period, Henry * king of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, took to wife the daughter of Henry king of England. These kingdoms were put into the hands of the king of Denmark by their queen, who

suyvant, 1418, décéda la royne D. Catherine, aagée de cinquante ans, de mort soudaine, et fût enterrée à Tolede, en la chapelle des roys derniers.'

* Brooke calls him *John*. He married Philippa, daughter to king Henry of England by Eleanora his second wife..

Eric X. king of Denmark, &c. son of Wratislaus duke of Pomerania by Mary of Mecklenburg, niece to Margaret, *the Semiramis of the north*. His great aunt, Margaret, was still alive.

divested herself of all power and profit over them in favour of king Henry.

[A. D. 1409.]

CHAP. VII.

THE KING OF FRANCE HAS A SEVERE RETURN OF HIS DISORDER.—THE MARRIAGE OF THE COUNT DE NEVERS WITH THE DAMSEL OF COUCY.—THE WAR OF AMÉ DE VIRY, A SAVOYARD, WITH THE DUKE OF BOURBON.

At the beginning of this year, Charles king of France was much oppressed with his usual disorder. On this account, when the kings of Navarre and Sicily, and the duke of Berry, had properly provided, in conjunction with the duke of Burgundy, for the state of the king, and the government of the realm, they went to visit their own territories. In like manner, the duke of Burgundy, went to the marriage of his brother Philip count of Nevers, who took to wife the damsel of Coucy, daughter to sir

Enguerrand de Coucy *, formerly lord and count of Soissons, and niece by the mother's side to the duke of Lorraine and to the count de Vaudemont; which marriage was celebrated in the town of Soissons.

This ceremony was performed on Saint George's day, and the feasts and entertainments lasted for three days afterward. There were present the duchess of Lorraine † and the countess of Vaudemont ‡, who had come expressly thither to do honour to the lady of Coucy and her daughter.

When these feasts were over, the duke of Burgundy, attended by his son-in-law the count de Penthievre, set out for Burgundy; and shortly after, the count de Nevers conducted his wife, and the duchess of Lorraine and the countess of Vaudemont, to his county of Rethel, where she was received with every token of joy.

During this time, the duke of Bourbon was challenged by Amé de Viry, a Savoyard,

* See before, vol. i. p. 57.

† Margaret of Bavaria, sister to the emperor Robert, married Charles the bold, duke of Lorraine.

‡ Margaret, heiress of Vaudemont, married Frederick, brother of Charles duke of Lorraine.

and a poor blade in comparison with the duke of Bourbon; nevertheless, he committed much damage by fire and sword in the countries of Bresse and Beaujolois. The duke was very indignant at this, and assembled a large body of men at arms and archers to punish and conquer him. He ordered his son, the count de Clermont, to lead on the van, and he speedily followed in person.

In his company were the counts de la Marche and de Vendôme, the lord d'Albret, constable of France, Louis de Baviere, brother to the queen, Montagu, grand master of the king's household, the lord de la Heuse and many more great lords, who advanced with a numerous body of men to the county of Beaujolois.

Amé de Viry was informed of the great force which the duke of Bourbon was marching against him, and dared not wait his arrival; for he had not strength enough to garrison the forts he had taken. On his retreat, he marched to a town called Bourg-en-Bresse, which belonged to the earl of Savoy, his lord. The earl, however, would not support him against his great uncle, the duke of Bourbon,

but gave him up, on condition that Amé should make every amends in his power for the mischiefs he had done, and should surrender himself to one of the prisons of the duke, until he should have completely made him satisfaction, but that no harm of any sort should be done to his person.

The duke of Bourbon gladly received him, and thanked his nephew for his friendship.—This caused a quarrel of some standing to be made up; for the earl of Savoy had declared his great uncle owed him homage for his lands of Beaujolois, which he would not pay,—but now the dispute was mutually referred by them to the duke of Berry.

When these matters were concluded, the duke of Bourbon returned to France, and disbanded his forces. Some time after, by means which Viry made use of with the duke, he obtained his liberty. Waleran count de St Pol intended being of this expedition with the duke of Bourbon, and raised a large force; but on marching near Paris, he was ordered not to proceed further, and to return to the frontiers of the Boulonois, where he had been specially commissioned by the king.

CHAP. VIII.

TWO COMBATS TAKE PLACE AT PARIS IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING.——THE DEATH OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF RHEIMS.——THE COUNCIL AT PISA.

ABOUT Ascension-day, the king of France, who had been grievously ill, was restored to health,—and in consequence, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, with many other lords, instantly returned to Paris. Two combats were ordained to be fought in the square behind St Martin des Champs, in the presence of the king and the aforesaid lords. One was between a breton knight, called sir William Batailler, and an Englishman, named sir John Carmien, for a breach of faith.

When they were met, and Montjoye king at arms had proclaimed their challenges and the causes of them, in the accustomed manner, he bade them do their duty. Sir William, who was the appellant, issued first out of his pavilion, and marched proudly toward his adversary, who was advancing to meet him. They threw their lances without effect, and

then made use of their swords: but in this last combat the Englishman was slightly wounded below his armour, when the king instantly put an end to the fight. They were both very honourably led out of the lists, and conducted to their lodgings.

The other combat was between the seneschal of Hainault and sir John Cornwall, an english knight of great renown, and who had married a sister to the king of England*. This combat was undertaken by the two knights at the desire of the duke of Burgundy, when at Lille, to show their prowess in running a few courses with the lance and giving some strokes with the battle-axe: but when the duke had caused the lists to be prepared, the two champions were ordered by the king to repair to Paris, and to perform their deeds of arms in his presence.

According to these orders, and on the appointed day, sir John Cornwall entered the lists first, very grandly equipped, and, galloping his horse around, came before the king, whom he gallantly saluted. He was followed by six little pages mounted on as many war-horses,

* Q. Who was this?

the two first of which were covered with furniture of ermines, and the other four with cloth of gold. When he had made his obeisances, the pages retired without the lists.

Shortly after, the seneschal arrived, attended by the duke of Brabant and his brother, the count de Nevers, each holding a rein of his horse, on his right and left. The count de Clermont bore his battle-axe, and the count de Penthievre his lance. When he had made the circuit of the lists, and had saluted the king, as sir John Cornwall had done, they prepared to tilt with their lances; but as they were on the point of so doing, the king caused it to be proclaimed that they should not proceed in this matter, which was very displeasing to both of them, and forced them to return to their hôtels.

It was again proclaimed, by the king's orders, that this deed of arms should not be carried further,—and that in future no one, under pain of capital punishment, should, throughout his realm, challenge another to a duel without a substantial cause.

When the king had magnificently feasted these two knights, and shown them much honour at his court, they departed, as it was

said, for England, with the intention of completing their deed of arms.

During this time, the cardinal de Bar, son to the duke of Bar, and Guye de Roye, archbishop of Rheims, in company with master Peter d'Ailly, bishop of Cambray, and several other prelates and churchmen, were journeying to the general council which was to be held at Pisa, and took up their lodgings one night at a town called Voltri, on the sea-coast, about four leagues from Genoa. At this place the blacksmith of the archbishop had a quarrel with a blacksmith of the town, about the price of shoeing a horse, which proceeded from words to blows, and the archbishop's blacksmith killed the other, and fled instantly for safety to the lodgings of his master.

The townsmen immediately rose,—and a great number of them came to revenge the death of their countryman. The archbishop, hearing of the cause of this tumult, left his chamber, and kindly addressed them, promising to have the injury immediately repaired, according to their wishes; and, the more to appease them, he delivered up his blacksmith into the hands of the magistrate of the place, who was a lieutenant of

Boucicaut marshal of France, then governor of Genoa.

But this was of no avail,—for as the archbishop was speaking to them, without the door of his house, one of the mob thrust his javelin right through his body to the heart, so that he dropped down dead without uttering another word. It was a great pity, for he was a religious prelate, and of a noble family.

This deed, however, did not satisfy them; for instantly after they murdered the magistrate and the aforesaid blacksmith, and also endeavoured to force their way into the house, whither the cardinal de Bar and the greater part of the others had retired, in order to put them likewise to death.

They were, however, at length appeased by the principal inhabitants, and it was concluded that the cardinal should grant them his pardon for what they had done against him,—to which, indeed, he was induced by his attendants, from their fears of being all destroyed.

They never told him of the murder of the archbishop until he was gone two leagues from the town: on the hearing of it, he was so troubled, and sick at heart, that he was

near falling off his mule. His attendants, notwithstanding, made him hasten his pace as much as they could; for they were alarmed for their lives, after the instances they had seen, and from the numbers of people they perceived descending the hills, and the accustomed signs they saw when a town is under any apprehension of danger, and the ringing of bells in the manner usual on these occasions.

These signals were sounded throughout the country, and the peasants were seen running down the hills to overtake them; but when they were arrived within a league of Genoa, the marshal Boucicaut * came out

* John le Maingre, second of the name, count of Beaufort and viscount of Turenne. He was the son of mareschal Boucicaut the elder, mentioned by Froissart, who died in 1371. He was himself made a mareschal of France in 1391, having been knighted, nine years before, at the battle of Rosebec in Flanders. He went into Hungary and was present at the battle of Nicopolis, and made prisoner with John count of Nevers. He was again appointed to the relief of the emperor of Constantinople in 1399. In 1401, he was made governor of Genoa,—and he took the city of Famagousta in Cyprus for the Genoese. He was made prisoner at Agincourt, and died in England 1421. He was a poet as well as warrior, and composed many rondeaux and virelays. In his epitaph, he is called Constable to the emperor of Constantinople.

with a handsome company to meet him. The cardinal made loud complaints to him of the outrages that had been committed on his people at the town of Voltri, and demanded that he would judicially inquire into it. The marshal replied, that he would make so severe an example of that town that all others should take warning from it.

The cardinal was then conducted into the city of Genoa, where he was made welcome by the churchmen and other inhabitants; and this same day the body of the archbishop of Rheims was brought thither, and honourably interred, —and his obsequies were performed in the principal church of Genoa.

Shortly after, the marshal Boucicaut punished most severely all whom he could apprehend that had committed these outrages, with their accomplices: they were put to death in various ways, and their houses also were razed to the ground, that these executions might serve for warnings to others never to commit such cruel murders.

The cardinal de Bar, with his companions, now set out from Genoa, and travelled, by easy day's journies, to Pisa, where were assembled a prodigious number of cardinals, doctors in

theology, and graduates in civil law and other sciences, ambassadors and prelates, in obedience to the two popes, from different kingdoms, and from all parts of Christendom.

After many councils had been held on the schism in the church, they came at last to this conclusion: they unanimously condemned the two rival popes as heretics, schismatics, obstinate in evil, and perturbators of the peace of our holy mother the church. This sentence was passed in the presence of twenty-four cardinals, at the gates of Pisa, before all the people, the 15th day of June, in the year aforesaid.

The same cardinals, after invoking the grace and assistance of the holy Spirit, entered into conclave, where they remained until the 16th day of the same month, when they finished their election. They chose Peter of Candia, so named from being a native of that island: he was of the order of Friars Minors, created a doctor in theology at Paris, archbishop of Milan and cardinal; and, when consecrated sovereign of the true and holy catholic church, he took the name of Pope Alexander V.

O, most powerful God! how great was the joy thus caused, through thy never-failing

grace; for it is impossible to relate the shoutings and acclamations that resounded for more than a league round the city of Pisa. But what shall we say of the city of Paris? Why, when this joyful news was brought thither, on the 8th of July, they incessantly shouted, night and day, 'Long live Alexander V. our pope!' in all the squares and streets, and entertained all passengers with meat and drink, from their heartfelt happiness. When the ceremony of consecrating the pope was over, letters were sent to different persons, the more fully to explain the proceedings of the council. I shall insert the one written by the abbot of Saint Maixence to the bishop of Poitiers, the tenor of which was as follows.

'Reverend father, and my redoubted lord, after my humble respects being accepted, I know that your reverence would gladly be informed of the proceedings of the council, which has been held in the city of Pisa, and any intelligence concerning it; and it is for this reason I have indited the following lines to your reverence.

'First, then, on the 25th day of March all the cardinals, who had been created by both popes, and all the prelates then in Pisa,

assembled in the church of St Martin, which is situated beyond the river, on the road leading to Florence, and thence being dressed in their robes, with mitres on their heads, they made a grand procession to the cathedral church, which is as distant from that of Saint Martin as our church of Nôtre Dame at Paris is from that of St Martin des Champs. There the council always afterward assembled; and on this first day, mass was celebrated with great solemnity: the sermon was preached by my lord cardinal of Milan, of the order of Friars Minors, a great theologian. When the service was over, the morrow was fixed on to open the council, and the two popes were summoned to attend on that day at the gates of the church by two cardinals; but neither of them appeared, nor any one for them.

'The council continued to sit till the latter end of March, when the popes were again summoned to appear, but neither of them obeyed. The council therefore having required the two rival popes to come before them, on account of the schism that has reigned in the church, and neither of them appearing, or sending any one to make satisfactory answers for them, and the term

allotted for their appearing being elapsed, declared them both guilty of the schism that distresses the church, and of contumacy, by their conduct, toward the council.

'The council ordered prosecutions to be carried on against both of the popes, on the Monday after Quasimodo-Sunday, the 15th of April, when my lords cardinals celebrated together the service of the holy week. On Good Friday, my lord cardinal d'Orsini celebrated divine service in Saint Martin's church; and a secular doctor of divinity, from Bologna la Grassa, preached an excellent sermon.

'My lords cardinals were all present at the ceremonies of Easter Sunday. During the ensuing week they assembled in council, sometimes alone, at others they called in the prelates, to deliberate on the state of affairs, and what line of conduct should be pursued; and every thing was carried on with mutual good will on all sides. This week the ambassadors from the king of the Romans arrived at Pisa.

'On the Sunday of Quasimodo, an italian bishop said mass before the cardinals; and a cordelier from Languedoc, a doctor in

divinity preached the sermon, in which he greatly praised my lords cardinals from France, and such as were seeking to restore peace to the church,—but very harshly treated the two contending popes, calling them schismatics, heretics, and traitorous enemies to God and to his church. He chose for his text, 'Jesus dixit, Pax vobis,' which he handled extraordinarily well.

'The following Monday, the cardinals, prelates, ambassadors, and procurators then present, made oath to obey the decisions of the council. Mass was then chaunted, and succeeded by many prayers; then the litany was sung, at which all the cardinals and prelates, dressed in their robes and mitres, attended, and so continued as long as the sittings of the council lasted, which made it a handsome sight to see.

'This same day, the council gave audience to the ambassadors from Robert king of the Romans; and the bishop of Verdun, on the part of Robert, who favoured pope Gregory as much as he could, began his harangue, taking for his theme, 'Pax vobis.' He made many mischievous propositions, to divide and distract the council, in obedience

to his master, and to serve the false pope Gregory. There were with this bishop an archbishop of a foreign order, and a numerous body of attendants. When the bishop had made his propositions, the ambassadors were required to deliver the same in writing, and to show their procurations from their lord. A day was then fixed to hear the answer of the council to their propositions; but before this day arrived, the ambassadors went away without taking leave of their host.

'This week of Quasimodo, the lord Malatesta came to Pisa in great state: he had given to pope Gregory one of his castles called Rimini *, and made the following request to the cardinals assembled, as well on the part of pope Gregory as on his own,—namely, that it would please the members of the council to adjourn its sittings, and change the place of its meeting; that if they would so do, pope Gregory would attend personally, provided the situation were in a place of safety, and that he might have security for his coming to and going from it.

* See Shepherd's Life of Poggio, p. 42.

'In consequence of this request, the cardinals summoned the prelates to notify it to them; but they unanimously declared, they would neither consent that the place of holding the council should be changed nor that the meetings of it should be adjourned. This answer was very agreeable to the cardinals. The lord Malatesta, therefore, returned without having succeeded in his object; but his anger was appeased by some of the cardinals, his friends and acquaintance.

'From the 15th of April, the council continued sitting to the 23d of the said month, —when, after the solemnity of the mass, the advocate-fiscal demanded, that the council should declare, that the conjunction of the two colleges of cardinals of the holy church of Rome had been, and was, lawful and canonical at the time it was formed.

'Item, that it should declare, that this holy council is duly canonical, by the cardinals of both colleges assembling for so excellent a purpose.

'Item, that this holy council has been called together by the cardinals of both colleges with a good intent.

'Item, that it has been assembled at a convenient opportunity.

'Item, that it should declare, that this holy council, as representing the universal church of God, has a right to take cognizance of the merits of the two competitors for the papacy.

'Item, that a narrative should this day be read of the introduction and commencement of the schism that took place from the time of the death of pope Gregory X. until the convention of this holy general council.

'In this narrative were displayed all the tricks and deceits that had been made use of, either individually or conjunctively by the two rival popes.

'After it had been read, the advocate fiscal drew several conclusions against the said rivals and their pretensions to the papacy, and ended his harangue by demanding that they should be deposed and punished corporally, and that the council should proceed to the election of a true and holy pope.

'The sittings were prolonged to Saturday the 27th day of the same month, when the ambassadors from the king of England entered the council with a most magnificent state.—

The bishop of Salisbury *, in the diocese of Canterbury, made a handsome speech, urging the necessity of peace and union in the church.

'When he had finished, the advocate-fiscal made an interesting oration, and concluded by demanding, through the procurator of the holy council, that it would please to appoint a commission of certain wise, discreet, and experienced persons to examine witnesses as to the notorious sins charged on the two competitors for the papacy, and his request was granted.

'The second Sunday after Easter, mass was celebrated before the cardinals, and the sermon was preached by the bishop of Digne in Provence: he was of the order of Friars Minors, a learned doctor in divinity, and had ever been a great friend to Pietro della Luna, and was well acquainted with the tricks and cavils of both popes. This bishop delivered a good sermon from his text of 'Mercenarius fugit,' in which he discovered many deceptions of the two rivals, in descanting on the words of his text.

* Robert Hallam, cardinal, and chancellor of the university of Oxford.

'The sittings were continued from this Sunday to the 2d day of May, when mass was said before the cardinals; and the sermon was preached by the cardinal Prenestin, more commonly called the cardinal of Poitiers.—He delivered a good discourse, and chose for his text, 'Libera Deus Israel ex omnibus tribulationibus suis.' He urged in his sermon eleven conclusive arguments against the two popes, for refusing to give peace to the church, and ended by requiring the council, in consideration of their obstinate contumacy, to proceed against them and provide a pastor for the flock of God.

'On the 2d day of May, there was a general meeting of the council, when, after the usual solemnities, a very renowned doctor of Bologna made a reply to the insidious propositions of the bishop of Verdun, on the part of the emperor Robert. He condemned, by arguments drawn from divine, canon, and civil law, all that had been advanced by the bishop; and his reasoning was so just and clear that the council were much satisfied and comforted.

'The ensuing Sunday, mass was said before the cardinals, and the sermon was preached by the general of the order of

Augustins. He was a great doctor in divinity, and a native of Italy. He chose for his text, 'Cum venerit ille arguet mundum de peccato, et de justitia, et de judicio.' He discussed this subject very well, and with a good intent.

'The sittings were prolonged from this 2d of May to the 10th.—The patriarch of Alexandria celebrated mass before the cardinals on the feast of the revelation of St Michael, the 8th of May; and he likewise preached a sermon, taking for his text, 'Congregata est ecclesia ex filiis Israel et omnes qui fugebiant a malis additi sunt, et facti sunt illis ad firmamentum.' These words are written in the 2nd and 5th chapters of the first book of Machabees. In the course of this sermon, he pressed six arguments against the two rival popes.

'On Friday, the 10th of May, the council, after the usual solemnities, resumed its sittings, when the advocate-fiscal made the following requisitions: that the holy council would be pleased to confirm and approve the demands he had before made, namely, that it should declare that the union of the two colleges of cardinals has been and is legal; and that the council should pronounce definitively on the other demands he had made. The procurator

fiscal made a request to the council, that eight days should be allowed for the production of witnesses; and the council was adjourned to the 16th of May.

On the Sunday preceding that day, mass was said before the cardinals by the bishop of Faenza; and the sermon preached by a native of Arragon, a learned doctor in divinity, who had always been of the party of Pietro della Luna. He chose his text from one of St Paul's epistles, 'Expurgate vetus fermentum ut sitis nova conspersio.' He expatiated on this with such ability that all the doctors wondered. Drawing from it certain conclusions, he said that the two rivals were as much popes as his old shoes, calling them worse than Annas and Caiaphas, and comparing them to the devils in hell.

'Such things passed in the council to the 23d day of this present month, as I have briefly related; on which day the ambassadors from the king of Spain were to come to Pisa. The number of prelates that were present cannot be estimated, for they were daily increased by new ones, who came from all parts of Christendom. I should suppose that at the last sitting of the council there were

present of cardinals, bishops, archbishops, and abbots, wearing mitres, one hundred and forty, without counting the non-mitred members.

'There were also ambassadors from the kings of France, England, Jerusalem, Sicily, Cyprus, and Poland; from the dukes of Brabant, Austria, Stephen of Bavaria, William of Bavaria; from the counts of Cleves and of Brandac*; from the marquis of Brandenbourg and de Moraine †; from the archbishops of Cologne, Mentz and Saltzbourg, and from the bishop of Maestricht; from the grand master of the Teutonic order; from the patriarch of Aquileia, and from many princes in Italy. Numbers of doctors in divinity, and in the canon and civil law, were present, as well from France as from other countries, and very many procurators from divers parts of the world, who, by the grace of God, have held instructive and charitable conversations together from the commencement of the council until this moment.

'In the city of Pisa are abundance of all sorts of provisions, which are sold at reasonable

* Brandac. Q. Brunswic?

† Marquis of Brandenbourg and Moravia. See vol i. p. 63.

prices; but they would be much cheaper, were it not for the gabelles and taxes that are levied in these countries. In my mind, Pisa is one of the handsomest cities existing: it has a navigable river, within a league distant, running into the sea,—and which river brings large vessels, laden with different merchandise, to the town. Around the city are vineyards of white grapes and many fine meadows.

'We are very well lodged, considering the great number of men at arms quartered in it for its guard. The town has been conquered by the Florentines, who have banished many of the Pisans to prevent any treasons, and sent them to Florence, to the amount of two thousand; and they are obliged to show themselves twice every day to the governor at an appointed place, under pain of death.

'Four or five thousand of the Pisans went to ask succour from king Lancelot*, who,

* Ladislaus, or Lancelot, son of Charles of Durazzo, and brother to Joan II. who succeeded to the crown of Naples on his death in 1412.

He took up arms on behalf of Gregory, and invaded the florentine territories in the year 1409, at the head of a large body of forces. The proceedings of the council were in fact detrimental to him, as by its decree he was deposed, and the neapolitan crown vested in his competitor, the duke

in compliance with their request, advanced within five leagues of Pisa, with a force of twenty-three thousand combatants, as well horse as foot; but the Florentines, through the grace of God, are well able to resist all his power, and guard us. True it is, that this king Lancelot ran a risk of losing his kingdom by the union of the holy church, for he had tyrannically seized on a large part of the patrimony of St Peter.

'It was said that there were certain ambassadors from Pietro della Luna at the council, not with the intent of forwarding the union, but of throwing every obstacle in its way.

'There were nineteen cardinals of both colleges, at this council at Pisa, including the cardinal de Challan, whose attendants were arrived,—and the cardinal was to follow with the ambassadors from Savoy.

'My lords the cardinals are much displeased with those bishops, abbots, and chapters of cathedral churches, who have neglected to send procurators to this general

of Anjou. He had also seized many towns in the patrimony of St Peter, and among the rest on Rome itself.—See *Poggio Hist. Florent.* p. 178. et seq.

council. I have nothing more to send to you at present.—Written at Pisa the 15th day of May, by your humble monk and servant, the abbot of St Maxence.'

The direction was, 'To the reverend father in JESUS CHRIST, and by the grace of God, lord bishop of Poitiers, and chancellor to my lord the duke of Berry.'

CHAP. IX.

THE AMBASSADORS TO THE COUNCIL FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS WRITE LETTERS, TO INFORM THOSE WHO HAD SENT THEM OF WHAT HAD PASSED AT THIS COUNCIL.—PIETRO DELLA LUNA AND GREGORY ARE DEPRIVED OF THE PAPACY, AND ALL PERSONS FORBIDDEN BY THE HOLY COUNCIL FROM OBEYING EITHER IN ANY MANNER.—PETER OF CANDIA, A CORDELIER, IS ELECTED BISHOP OF ROME BY THE CARDINALS.—REGULATIONS FOR THE APPROBATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

I SHALL now transcribe the letters written by the ambassadors from the university of Paris

to the council at Pisa, the contents of which are as follows.

'Reverend fathers, lords and masters, after offering you our humble recommendation, may it please you to know, that we write to inform you of the conclusions entered into by the council-general, which has held thirteen sittings.

'The two rival popes, having for some time been waited for in vain, notwithstanding the summons sent them, have been declared contumacious in respect to schism and the faith. Many decrees were passed against them for their contumacy, and commissioners were appointed to examine witnesses against them.

'Item, the council-general approved of the union of the colleges of cardinals, the citations served on the contending popes, and the place of meeting of the council, as being perfectly convenient and secure. The council declared, that it was supreme on earth to take cognizance and judge of the charges brought against the contenders for the papacy. It was also declared by the council, that it had been lawful for any one to quit his obedience to either of the popes, from the moment they

had promised to abdicate the papacy; and that all suits and processes, carried on against such as had quitted their obedience to either, were annulled and of no weight.

'Public charges were then made against them, and an interlocutory sentence passed on the notorious sins of the two competitors. This day, doctor Peter Paoul declared, in full council, your opinions, and took for his text, 'Congregabuntur filii Judæ et filii Israel et facient sibimet caput unum.' That is to say, Those who are come to this council, and such as shall hereafter come, will choose from among themselves a head to the church. A little before this, doctor Dominic le Petit had made a solemn harangue before all the cardinals, taking for his text, 'Principes populorum congregati sunt cum Deo Abraham.' The cardinals and prelates of the holy church are styled princes of the people. On this day also, the theologians, to the number of six score and three, delivered their opinions, and eighty of them are your friends and supporters.

'Item, this day it has been ordered that the two rival popes be summoned to appear at the doors of the church on Wednesday the 5th of July, to hear their definitive sentence,

'Gregory has sent a bull to the English to entreat they would be of his party, with Robert king of the Romans, to change the place of holding the council, and that they would please to be of his council; but he labours in vain, for the English, Germans, Bohemians, Polanders, French, those from Cyprus, Rhodes and Italy, are all unanimous, excepting Robert, whose ambassadors have gone away.

'Few prelates have come to this council from the kingdom of Hungary. King Ladislaus wrote that he intended being here in person, but he is fully occupied in his war against the infidels.

'Pietro Mastin, called della Luna, has issued a most thundering bull, in which he admonishes the cardinals to return to their duty toward him; and should they refuse, he prohibits them from attempting to make another election, menacing them, in case of disobedience, with excommunication and other penalties against them and their supporters.

'Reverend fathers, and redoubted masters, we have nothing more for the present to write to you, except that all nations seem inclined to a reformation in the church, which the new

pope, whom it shall please God to elect, will be forced to comply with. Should you have any orders to send us, we are ready to obey them to the utmost of our power. Beseeching you humbly to keep all our concerns in your consideration, may the Sovereign Lord have you under his guard!

'Written at Pisa the 29th day of May.' Underneath were signed the names of Dominic le Petit, Pierre Paoul de Quesnoy, Jean Pere Ponce, Vincent, Eustace de Faquemberge, Arnoul Vibrant, Jean Bourlet, dit François. —Master Pierre de Poingny and master Guillaume le Charpentier did not sign the above, because they were absent.

Here follows the sentence on the two contending popes.

'This present holy council, assembled in the name of Jesus Christ, withdraws itself from the obedience to Pietro della Luna, called Pope Benedict XIII. and from Angelo Corrario, called Pope Gregory XII.; and the holy council decrees and declares, that all true Catholics ought to do the same.

'Item, the same holy synod, as representative and judge of the universal church, after mature consideration and

examination of witnesses concerning the horrible sins of the two contending popes, pronounces, in the church of Pisa, this its definitive sentence, that both popes be deprived of every honour and dignity, especially that of the papacy. It also pronounces, that they be separated from the holy church, in conformity to the sacred canons, and by the above sentence, forbidding all persons to have the boldness ever to defend or obey either of them as pope.

'The council forbids any Christians from obeying or showing favour to either, notwithstanding any oath or promise they may have made or entered into, under pain of excommunication,—and decrees, that whoever shall disobey this sentence shall be delivered into the hands of secular justice, and condemned as one who favours heretics, and that he shall be punished according to the divine commandments, and the decrees of the holy canons.

'The council also declares and pronounces, that all promotions of cardinals made by the two rival popes, namely, those made by Angelo Corrario since the 3d day of May, and by Pietro della Luna since the 15th day of June, of the

year 1408, have been and are of no effect, and are annulled by this definitive sentence. It also declares, that every judgment given by the aforesaid competitors for the papacy, to the prejudice of the holy church, against any kings, princes, lords, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, prelates of the church, or other private persons, are of no effect; and the holy synod has ordained that proceedings to the contrary, and to the welfare of the holy church shall commence on the ensuing Monday, the 10th day of June.'

The above sentences and declarations were passed in the general council of Pisa, the 5th day of June, in the year 1409.

The 26th day of June, in the year 1409, Peter of Candia, a Cordelier and native of Greece, doctor of divinity, and usually called the Cardinal of Milan, was unanimously chosen pope by the cardinals at Pisa, with the approbation of the general council, and called Alexander V. who, immediately after his election, published the following bull.

'Alexander, bishop and servant to the servants of God, to the bishop of Paris, health and apostolical benediction. Praise and glory be to the God of heaven for having instilled into the minds of men a desire of peace on

earth, and who, through his benign grace and mercy, has brought about an union of his Christian people, hitherto long disturbed by a dangerous schism.

'Who is there among mankind that will not most heartily rejoice at this happy event, on considering the perils souls must run when such divisions take place in the holy church, and which have for so long a time been encouraged by sacriligious schismatics?

'Our blessed God, taking pity on his people, who had long suffered from this division, opened and illuminated the minds of the holy general council, who have justly condemned the two popes, according to the sacred canons, as enemies to God and his holy church, by their enormous, horrible, and notorious sins.

'When our brethren, the venerable cardinals of the holy roman church, of whom we were one, were desirous of finding a proper pastor for the Christian flock, after the usual ceremonies and solemnities, with the consent of the council-general, they entered into conclave, where, after long discussions, they unanimously selected our humble self, then cardinal-priest of the church of the Twelve

Apostles, and chose us bishop of Rome. Although we knew our unworthiness of so great a charge, considering our weakness, yet, alway confiding in the aid of God, we have accepted of it.

'Venerable brother, these things we notify to thee, as one loving and desirous of the peace of the church, as we have been well informed; and we exhort thee and thy flock to render thanks to the all-powerful God for this most gracious gift which he has granted to us. We have so great an affection for thy worthy person, that we inform thee, that we are ready to serve thee and thine to the utmost of our power.—This present letter we have intrusted to be delivered to thee by our well-beloved son, that notable man Paulin d'Arcé, esquire of honour, chamberlain, and our loyal servant.—Given at Pisa the 8th day of July, in the first year of our papacy.'

It is the good pleasure of our very sacred lord Alexander V. by divine Providence, pope, that all promotions, translations, confirmations and collations whatever, and all consecrations of bishops and others, that have been granted or performed by the two competitors for the papacy, shall be considered as strictly legal,

provided they were effected prior to passing of the definitive sentence, and done according to the regulations of the canon law.

Item, it is also the pleasure of the general council, that our aforesaid lord shall give his orders concerning the archbishop of Genoa.

Item, the benefices in the church, that had been given by ordinary judges, have the approbation of the holy council to continue to them to whom they have been given.

Item, the holy council approves of proceedings being instituted against all who shall obstinately obey or favour either of the late competitors for the papacy, Pietro della Luna or Angelo Corrario,—and the council condemns such, as guilty of schism and notorious heresy, and ordains that they be punished according to the regulations of the sacred canons.

Item, it is ordered, that should the cardinal de Flisque * be willing to return to his duty, and appear personally within two months, he shall be kindly received, and enjoy all his honours and benefices, which he obtained in the year 1408.

* Flisque. Q. Fiesco?

Item, all dispensations given by bishops of dioceses in those parts not obedient to the two competitors, in the cases of persons not being of sufficient age to obtain dignities in the church or benefices,—and all absolutions, and acts of penitence, ordained by the competitors during the schism, shall be reserved to the determination of the holy apostolic see. All of which has been approved of and certified by the holy council.

CHAP. X.

THE DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF PARIS.—THE MARRIAGES, OF THE DUKE OF BRABANT WITH THE NIECE OF THE KING OF BOHEMIA,—OF THE CONSTABLE OF FRANCE'S DAUGHTER WITH THE SON OF MONTAGU, GRAND MASTER OF THE HOUSEHOLD,—OF THE KING OF CYPRUS WITH CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON.

In these days, the lord John d'Orgemont, bishop of Paris, departed this life, in his episcopal palace, about the end of June. He

was succeeded in his bishoprick by the lord Gerard de Montagu, bishop of Poitiers, chancellor to the duke of Berry, and brother to the grand master of the king's household and to the archbishop of Sens. He was honourably received in the cathedral church of Nôtre Dame in Paris, the 22d day of September following.

The king of France, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, the king of Navarre, and several other princes, with prelates and churchmen without number, were present at his consecration. With the aid of the grand master, his brother, the feast he gave on the occasion was the most magnificent ever seen, in regard to the quantity of gold and silver plate, and the diversity and abundance of meats and liquors. From this grand display, the princes observed that the grand master governed the king as he pleased; and they began to form suspicions as to the uprightness of his conduct.

On the 16th day of July following, duke Anthony of Brabant married, at Brussels, the niece of the king of Bohemia *, heiress to the

* Elizabeth, daughter of John duke of Luxembourg, brother of Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, and *ci-devant* emperor. See vol. i. p. 63.

duchy of Luxembourg in right of her father. This marriage had been concluded by the mediation of the bishop of Châlons and sir Regnier Pot.

Several knights, esquires, ladies and damsels of high rank, had accompanied the lady to Brussels, according to the orders of the king of Bohemia, her uncle. There were present at these nuptials the two brothers of the duke of Brabant, the duke of Burgundy and the count de Nevers, with their sister, wife to duke William count de Hainault; the count de Charolois and the countess of Cleves, children to the duke of Burgundy; the marquis du Pont, his brother John * and their sister, the countess de St Pol †, all three children to the duke de Bar; the counts de Namur and de Conversant, with their ladies, with many more of the great nobility of both sexes.

The count de Clermont, son to the duke de Bourbon, was also there,—and when he tilted was attended by the duke of Burgundy and count de Nevers. The duke bore his shield and the count his lance, to the surprise

* John lord of Puisaye, fifth son to the duke of Bar.

† Bona, third daughter of the duke of Bar, married to Waleran count of St Pol.

of many present, on account of the great hatred that had so lately subsisted between them for the murder of the duke of Orleans: however, they seemed then to be in perfect concord. This feast was abundantly served with all sorts of provisions and wines,—and when it was ended, the different guests retired to their respective countries.

On the last day but one of the same month of July, the marriage of the daughter of the lord d'Albret, constable of France, with the eldest son of Montagu *, grand master of the king's household, was solemnly celebrated. The queen of France and numbers of the great nobles were present,—and the whole of the expense was paid by the king, which created much anger and envy in several of the princes of the blood against Montagu.

At this time, the truces were broken between the kings of France and of England, but only at sea; and a bitter naval war ensued, to the great loss of many merchants in each country.

* Charles de Montagu, to whom the confiscated honours of the vidame du Laonnois and lord of Marcoussy were restored after the death of his father. There was no issue of this marriage with Catherine d'Albret.

On the 2d day of August, John de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, espoused by proxy, Charlotte de Bourbon, sister-german to the count de la Marche. The ceremony was performed in the castle of Melun, in the presence of the queen of France, the duke of Acquitaine and her other children, the king of Navarre, the dukes of Berry and of Bourbon, the counts de la Marche and de Clermont, the lord Louis de Baviere, brother to the queen, and many ladies and damsels, who greatly amused themselves in tournaments, dances, in feastings and other pastimes.

The lady Charlotte, queen of Cyprus, was very handsome, and well endowed with noble and gracious manners. On the conclusion of these feasts, she departed for Cyprus, most honourably accompanied by the nobles so ordered by her brother, and also by those who had been sent to her from the king of Cyprus. She landed at the port of Chermes, whither the king came to meet her, much rejoiced at her safe arrival, and conducted her, attended by the greater part of the nobility of the island, to Nicosia, where were made many feasts, according to the custom of the country. They reigned for a long time with much

honour, and had two children, of whom more shall be spoken hereafter.

CHAP. XI.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY HOLDS A GREAT COUNCIL AT LILLE ON HIS AFFAIRS.—THE DEATH OF THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS.

On the 5th of August, and the eight succeeding days, duke John of Burgundy held a grand council in his town of Lille, on his own affairs, and on the means of reconciling his brother and brother-in-law, the duke of Brabant and duke William of Holland, who had quarrelled for a cause before mentioned.

With these two dukes, there were also present the duke of Burgundy's sister, the wife of duke William, the bishop of Liege, and the count de Namur. At length, the duke of Burgundy made peace between them, on condition that duke William should pay to the duke of Brabant, for all his demand of debt, the sum of seventy thousand golden florins of the coin of France, by different instalments.

When this had been settled, the duke of Burgundy went, about the middle of August, to Paris, by orders from the king and royal council: he was accompanied by many men at arms, whom he quartered in the villages round Paris. The reason why he was attended by such a force was, because the duke of Brittany had lately brought from England great numbers of English, and, in conjunction with his Bretons, was carrying on a sharp war against the old countess of Penthievre * and her lands. The queen of France and the king's ministers were much displeased at this conduct of the duke of Brittany, because it was to the prejudice of the realm. The duke had increased this displeasure against him by having beaten and ill treated his duchess, daughter to the king of France, for blaming him on account of his undertaking this war.

It was therefore intended, that the duke of Burgundy should march the forces he had brought, attended by other princes and captains, against the duke of Brittany, to conquer his country and oblige him to submit to the king. The duke of Burgundy was

* Margaret de Clisson, widow of John de Blois and mother of Oliver, counts of Penthievre.

very desirous of succouring the countess and her fair son, the count de Penthievre; but while the preparations were making, the duke of Brittany, informed by some of his friends that he was in the ill graces of his mother in law, the queen of France, and of those who governed the king, sent, by advice of his council, certain ambassadors to Paris, to offer to submit his differences with the countess de Penthievre to the king and council, which was at length accepted, through the interference of the king of Navarre.

The countess de Penthievre and her son were summoned to Paris, whither also came the duke of Brittany, when, after some discussions, peace was made between them.

In this same month, Isabella, the king of France's eldest daughter, and dowager queen of England, but wife to Charles duke of Orleans, died in childbed. The duke bitterly lamented her loss, but received some consolation out of regard to the daughter she had brought him.

The patriarch of Alexandria, bishop of Carcassonne, succeeded Guy de Roye (whose murder has been noticed) in the archbishoprick of Rheims, and the archbishop of Bourges

succeeded to the patriarchate. Doctor William Bouratier, secretary to the king, was nominated archbishop of Bourges; and nearly about this time died doctor Peter Paoul, and was succeeded in his dignities by doctor Gilles des Champs, almoner to the king. Louis de Harcourt, brother to the count de Harcourt, was appointed archbishop of Rouen.

CHAP. XII.

THE TOWN OF GENOA REBELS AGAINST BOUCICAUT, MARSHAL OF FRANCE, THE GOVERNOR, WHILE OBEYING A SUMMONS FROM THE DUKE OF MILAN.

Boucicaut, marshal of France, was at this time governor of Genoa, and resided there. He was called upon by the duke of Milan and his brother, the count of Pavia *, to settle a dispute which had arisen between them, respecting part of their dominions. He accepted the invitation, thinking he should do an agreeable service to the duke of Milan, and

* John Maria and Philip Maria, sons of John Galeas, and successively dukes of Milan.

not suspecting any trick in the matter. But during his absence, the inhabitants of Genoa rebelled against his government, and sent for some of their allies and accomplices to come to them.

They cruelly murdered the marshal's lieutenant, the chevalier de Colletrie, named Chollette, a native of Auvergne, which the other Frenchmen hearing of, fled into the forts, for fear of suffering a similar fate. These were instantly besieged by the Genoese, who sent for the marquis of Montferrat * : he lost no time in hastening to their aid with four thousand combatants, as they had promised to pay him ten thousand florins yearly,—and they immediately elected him doge of Genoa. They also chose twelve knights, as a council to manage public affairs.

A few days after, Fassincault †, a very renowned captain in Italy, and a great friend

* Theodore Palæologus, second marquis of Montferrat. He married, first, a daughter of the duke of Bar, and, secondly, a princess of the house of Savoy. His daughter Sophia was married to Philip Maria Visconti, then count of Pavia, afterwards duke of Milan.

† Facino Cane, a captain of great reputation, and partisan of John Maria Visconti, duke of Milan.

of the marquis of Montferrat, came to Genoa with the intent of assisting the marquis; but the Genoese refused to admit him, or accept of his offers. On his return, his force, amounting to eight thousand men, took a town called Noefville; but the French retreated within the castle, which was instantly besieged.

When Boucicaut heard of the rebellion of the Genoese, he set out accompanied by his men, and the duke of Milan and the count of Pavia, and arrived with speed at the castle of Gaing *, situated between the town of Noefville † and Genoa, and fought with Fassincault and his forces. In this battle, eight hundred men were slain, the greater part belonging to Fassincault,—and night alone separated the combatants.

Boucicaut, by the advice of Enguerrand de Bournouville and Gaiffier de la Salle, both men at arms of acknowledged prowess, advanced that night to the castle of Gaing, which he won, and amply provided it with provision and all necessary stores. Fassincault

* Gaing. Q. Gavi?

† Noefville. Q. Novara, or Novi?

remained in the town; but seeing he could not gain the castle, he departed with his men to his own fortresses.

The marshal Boucicaut carried on a severe warfare against the Genoese and those who had assisted them. He also sent messengers to inform the king of France of his situation, and to require that he would immediately send him reinforcements of men at arms.—The king and his great council, on receiving this intelligence and considering the fickleness of the Genoese, determined to proceed cautiously against them. The king sent, at his expense, the lords de Torsy, de Rambures, and de Viefville, with a certain number of men at arms, to the city of Asti, belonging to the duke of Orleans, and near to the territory of Genoa, with the hope of affording assistance to Boucicaut.

On their arrival at Asti, they found that the whole country was in rebellion, excepting some forts, which held out for the French; but as they were without the town, and could not contain many men, from dread of wanting provision, they were not of consequence, nor could they do much mischief. The above knights, therefore, perceiving they could not

perform any essential services, resolved to return to France.

All merchants, and others who came from or had any connexions with Genoa, were now sought after in Paris, arrested and imprisoned, and their goods confiscated to the king's use. Now these Genoese had for a long time been under obedience to the king, and had diligently served him in many of his wars.

CHAP. XIII.

THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD ASSEMBLE, AND RESOLVE TO REFORM THE MANAGEMENT OF THE ROYAL FINANCES.—THE DEATH OF MONTAGU.

At this period, the following princes of the blood,—Louis king of Navarre*, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, and many other great lords, were at Paris; and having learnt that the king's treasury was impoverished by his officers and those who governed him,

* Q. Louis king of Sicily? or Charles king of Navarre? Probably the latter.

insomuch that his plate and the greater part of his jewels were in pawn, they one day personally explained to the king, in the presence of the queen, the duke of Acquitaine and others of his council, the miserable state of his finances, and the unworthy government of the officers of his household. They at the same time requested, that he would be pleased to permit that some of them should have power to reform in general the abuses that had commenced with his reign, and to call to an account, dismiss, and punish all who should have mismanaged the finances, according as the cases might require, without any exception whatever.

This request the king granted; and for the better carrying on their object, the greater part of the lords before mentioned left their own hôtels, and resided in the king's palace of St Pol, where, with the advice of the members of the parliament and the university, they continued their reformations for many days.

They soon discovered that those who had managed the finances for the last sixteen or twenty years had very dishonestly acquitted themselves, and had acquired for themselves

and their friends immense fortunes, to the prejudice of the state. Montagu, who had been the principal minister of finance, was particularly the object they aimed at,—and they ordered him, with several others, to be arrested and confined in the prisons of the Châtelet.

Sir Peter des Essars, provost of Paris, was directed to put this order into execution, with his sergeants; and by the command of the duke of Burgundy, the lords de Heylly, de Robais, and sir Roland de Vequerque, were appointed to assist the provost in this duty. Having assembled together, they, on a certain day, met Montagu, and with him the doctor, Martin Gouge, bishop of Chartres, both going to hear mass at the monastery of St Victor.

The provost, attended by the above lords, on meeting them, laid his hands on both, saying, 'I lay hands on you by virtue of the royal authority vested in me for this purpose.'—Montagu, hearing these words, was much astonished, and trembled greatly; but his courage soon returned, and he replied to the provost, 'What! rascal, art thou daring enough to lay hands on me?' But the

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provost answered, 'Matters will not turn out as you think,—for you must make reparation for the many and great mischiefs you have done.'

Montagu, unable to resist, was tightly bound by the provost, and carried by him straight to the little Châtelet. The bishop of Chartres was arrested with him, as he had been president of one of the financial departments. Montagu was several times put to the torture, insomuch that, suspecting his end was approaching, he asked his confessor what he had best do: the confessor replied, 'I see no other remedy than your appealing from the jurisdiction of the provost of Paris.' This he did; and the provost waited on the lords who had commanded him to arrest Montagu, to inform them, that he had appealed against his jurisdiction. The parliament was consequently convoked to examine into the matter; and the members of it declared the appeal of no effect. The lords, therefore, seeing the cause had been judged, said to the provost, 'Go, without delay, accompanied by some of the populace well armed, take thy prisoner, and finish the matter by cutting off his head with an axe, and fix it on a lance in the market-place.'

After these words, the populace armed themselves, and, on the 17th of October, assembled in bodies in the place Maubert, and in other parts of the town. They carried Montagu to a scaffold erected in the market place, where, having made him strip to his shirt, they cut off his head, and fixed it to the end of a pike, and hung his body by the shoulders to the highest gibbet at Montfaucon. This execution was chiefly owing, as it was said, to the duke of Burgundy's hatred to him, who even sent for a very great number of the nobles of his countries of Burgundy, Flanders, and Artois, to be spectators of it.

A little before this execution took place, the duke of Bourbon, and his son the count de Clermont, left Paris, indignant at the arrest of Montagu. The duke of Orleans, his brothers, and all of their party, were also very much displeased that he was put to death,—but they could not help it, for at that time they were not listened to by the king's council.

On the morrow of this event, duke William count of Hainault arrived at Paris, having been sent for by the duke of Burgundy. A large company of the nobles went out of the town to meet him; and he was most graciously received

by the king, the duke of Acquitaine and the other princes. On his arrival, the hôtel that had belonged to Montagu was given to him, with all its furniture, for it had been confiscated to the king's use; and duke William took instant possession.

The castle of Marcoussi, which had been built by Montagu, was seized by the king: it is situated seven leagues from Paris, on the road to Chartres. Montagu was born in Paris, and had first been secretary to the king: he was the son of Gerard de Montagu, who had also been secretary to Charles V. He was of noble birth by his mother's side, and had three daughters, two of whom were married; the elder to John* count de Roussy, the second to Peter de Craon, lord of Montbason; and the third was betrothed to John de Melun, son to the lord d'Antoing†, but the match was broken off: his son was married to the daughter of the lord d'Albret,

* John VI. count of Roucy and Braine, son of Hugh count de Roucy and Blanche of Coucy. He married Isabel de Montagu, and was killed at Agincourt.

† The lords of Antoing and princes of Espinoy were a younger branch of the house of Melun, counts of Tancarville. John I. viscount of Melun, was grandfather both to the count of Tancarville and the lord d'Antoing, mentioned in this volume.

constable of France and cousin to the king, as has been related.

After this, the provost of Paris arrested many of the king's officers, particularly those who had been concerned in the finances and in matters of revenue. All the principals in the department of the generalities, the presidents and others of the chamber of accounts, Perrin Pillot, a merchant, with several others, were imprisoned in the Louvre and in other places of confinement.

When the borgne de Foucal, equerry to the king, and keeper of that department of the treasury called the Epargne, heard that the grand master of the household was arrested, he was greatly astonished and troubled, and, instantly changing his dress, mounted a fleet horse, and secretly left Paris. This caused him to be much suspected of improper conduct by the princes who were examining into these matters.

At this period, the archbishop of Sens, brother to the grand master, Guichart Daulphin, William de Tignonville, knights, and master Goutier Col, secretary to the king, were sent, by orders from the king, to meet the english ambassadors at Amiens. The archbishop,

hearing of the arrest and imprisonment of his brother, took leave of his companions, and set out from Amiens: but as he was journeying toward Paris, he was met by one of the king's ushers, who made him his prisoner; for he had orders so to do from the king, and confine him at Amiens, should he chance to find him there.

The archbishop very prudently replied, that he was ready to follow him to prison or to death; but when they came to the river Oise, near the priory of St Leu de Cherens, he played the usher a trick. On leaving the ferry boat with a few of his people, he mounted the fleetest of his horses, and galloped off, leaving the usher on the other side waiting for the return of the ferry-boat; but, thunderstruck at his being so cheated, he returned to Paris without his prisoner.

The lord de Tignonville, having been a member of the chamber of accounts, was, by command of the princes, arrested by the bailiff of Amiens, and confined in his prison. But after a short time, he, the bishop of Chartres, and the other prisoners at Paris, were suspended from their offices, and, having given bail, were permitted to go about Paris, or wherever they pleased.

The princes, not being able to attend sufficiently to these matters of reform from their other occupations of greater weight, appointed a commission to examine carefully into them, which commission was composed of the counts de la Marche, de Vendôme and de St Pol, with some members of the parliament.

The men at arms that had been called together round Paris by the duke of Burgundy and others were disbanded; and each, as they returned to the places whence they had come, devoured the substance of the poor people, according to the custom of that time.

Sir Guichart Daulphin*, before mentioned, was, by the princes, appointed grand master of the king's household in the room of the murdered Montagu; for the king was then troubled with his usual disorder.

The bishop of Paris now requested of the princes, that they would, in their mercy, permit him to have the body of his brother taken down from the gibbet, and, with many tears

* Guichard Dauphin, descended from the old counts de Clermont, dauphins of Auvergne, grand master from 1409 to 1413. He was son to Guichard Dauphin I. grand master of the cross-bows.

and supplications, petitioned for leave to bury him. But neither of these requests was granted him by the princes; on which the bishop, ashamed of the disgraceful death of one brother and the flight of another, the archbishop of Sens, soon after quitted his see, and taking with him his sister-in-law, the widow of Montagu, and some of their children, for the duke of Berry had already appointed another chancellor, went to the estate of his sister-in-law in Savoy: she was the daughter of sir Stephen de la Grange, formerly president of the parliament, and brother to the cardinal d'Amiens.

The borgne de Foucal, not answering to the proclamations that were made for his appearance, was banished the realm of France, by sound of trumpet in the four quarters of Paris. In like manner were the archbishop of Sens and many other fugitives banished the kingdom.

The king of Navarre, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Holland, with the counts de Vendôme and de la Marche, and several great lords, waited on the queen of France and the duke of Acquitaine, to make them acquainted with the reasons for the executing Montagu,

and what progress they had made in the reformation of abuses, and the measures they had pursued against such as were criminal. The queen testified her satisfaction, and was contented that they should proceed as they had began. She was, however, far from being pleased with the duke of Burgundy, whom she dreaded, from the great power he was now possessed of, more than any of the other princes, although he treated her respectfully in his speech.

The marriage of the lord Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen, was again talked of with the daughter of the king of Navarre; and he was presented with the castle of Marcoussi, with all its furniture and appurtenances, which had lately been confiscated to the king, by the death of Montagu, which was very agreeable to the queen.

After these lords had for some days transacted business at Melun, where the court was, they all returned to Paris, carrying with them master Peter Bosthet, president of the parliament, and some members of the chamber of accounts, and assembled daily to inquire after those persons who had been in the receipt and expenditure of the public revenues.

During this time, the king, who had been very ill, was restored to health, insomuch that on the 2d day of December, he rode from his palace of St Pol, dressed in a hauberk under his robes, to the cathedral church of Nôtre Dame, where he made his prayers, a page carrying behind him a very handsome steel helmet and a moorish lance. Having finished his prayers, he returned to his palace of Saint Pol.

On the morrow, he held a royal council in person, at which were present the king of Navarre, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and of Bourbon, which last was lately returned to Paris. It was there resolved, that the king should summon the following lords to attend him personally at the ensuing feast of Christmas, namely, the dukes of Orleans, of Brittany, of Brabant, of Bar, and of Lorraine: the counts of Savoy *, of Alençon, of Penthievre, of Namur, of Harcourt, of Armagnac †, and in

* Amadeus VIII. the first duke of Savoy, son of Amadeus VII. and Bona daughter to the duke of Berry.

† Bernard VII. brother of John III. count of Armagnac, killed at Alexandria della Paglia, as related by Froissart. This count was a man of the most unbounded ambition, and had already, in the forcible seizure of the

general all the great lords within his realm of France and Dauphiny, with many prelates and other noblemen. After this summons of the king, the duke of Burgundy gave orders for a large body of men at arms to be collected in his countries of Flanders, Artois and Burgundy, for the safety of his person.

Shortly after this council, duke William count of Hainault went to Melun, the residence of the queen of France, who was his near relation; and so managed that she, who could not bear the duke of Burgundy, and had strongly supported the party adverse to him, namely, that of my lord the duke of Orleans, was reconciled to him.

county of Fesenzaguet, (the appanage of a younger branch of Armagnac) and the murder of its count, Geraud III. and his two sons, discovered an unprincipled cruelty of disposition, remarkable even at this calamitous period of history. He married Bona of Berry, the widow of Amadeus VII. and mother of Amadeus VIII. above mentioned.

CHAP. XIV.

DUKE LOUIS OF BAVARIA ESPOUSES THE DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF NAVARRE.—THE NAMES OF THE LORDS WHO CAME TO PARIS IN OBEDIENCE TO THE KING'S ORDERS.

ABOUT this time, duke Louis of Bavaria was married at Melun to the daughter of the king of Navarre, according to what has been before mentioned. She had previously married the eldest son of the king of Arragon *, who had lately been slain in a battle between him and the viscount de Narbonne and the Sardinians, which took place in Sardinia. There was much feasting at this wedding, which was attended by many lords, ladies and damsels.

* Martin king of Sicily, by whose death without issue the king of Arragon was deprived of male heirs. The island of Sardinia was at this time divided between the genoese and arragonian factions. The chief of the former was Brancaleon d'Oria, whose sister was married to William count of Narbonne. Turquet calls him Aimery,—and says that the king of Sicily was not killed, but died a natural death at Cagliari, after obtaining a victory over the confederates.

About Christmas the greater part of those lords whom the king had summoned, arrived at Paris: the duke of Orleans and his brothers, however, did not come. On the eve of Christmas-day, the king went to the palace to hold his state, and remained there until St Thomas's day, where he celebrated most solemnly the feast of the nativity of our Lord.

On this day the following persons were seated at the king's table at dinner: on his right, doctor William Bouratier, archbishop of Bourges, who had said the mass, next to him was the cardinal de Bar. The king was seated at the middle of the table, very magnificently dressed in his royal robes. On his left were the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. A great variety of ornamental plate was produced in gold and silver, which were wont to be served before the king on high feasts, but which had not for some time been seen, because they had been pawned to Montagu, and had been found after his death in his castle of Marcoussi, and in other places where he had hidden them.

By orders from the princes of the blood they had been replaced, as usual, in the king's palace, which was a very agreeable sight to the

nobles and people of Paris, from their regard to the honour of the king's person, and his royal state.

A great many princes and others had obeyed the king's summons, and were at this feast,—namely, the king of Navarre, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, Brabant, duke William count of Hainault, the duke of Lorraine, duke Louis of Bavaria, brother to the queen,—and nineteen counts, namely, the count de Mortain, brother to the king of Navarre, the count de Nevers, the count de Clermont, the marquis du Pont, son to the duke of Bar, the count de Vaudemont, the count d'Alençon, the count de Vendôme, the count de Penthievre, the count de St Pol, the count de Cleves, the count de Tancarville, the count d'Angy*, the count de Namur, and several others, to the aforesaid amount. The number of knights who accompanied these princes was so great that, from the report of the heralds, they were more than eighteen hundred knights, without including esquires.

* Q. Angennes? John d'Angennes, lord de la Louppe, was governor of Dauphinè and afterwards of the Louvre, and enjoyed great credit at court.

Nevertheless, there were not in this noble company the duke of Orleans nor his brothers, nor the duke of Brittany, nor the lord d'Albret, constable of France, nor the counts de Foix, d'Armagnac, and many other potent lords, although they had been summoned by the king in like manner as the others.

On St Thomas's day, after the king had feasted his nobles in royal state, the queen, by orders from the king, came from the castle of Vincennes to Paris. All the princes, prelates, and great crowds of people, went out to meet her and her son, the duke of Acquitaine, and conducted her to the palace, where they presented her to the king, in the presence of all the before-mentioned lords. Her son had visited his government, to be properly instructed in arms, and other necessary matters, that he might be the better qualified to rule his kingdom when it should fall to him.

CHAP. XV.

THE KING OF FRANCE KEEPS ROYAL STATE IN HIS PALACE, WHEREIN SEVERAL OF THE GREAT LORDS BEFORE MENTIONED HOLD MANY COUNCILS ON THE STATE OF THE NATION.

In consequence of several meetings having been held in the presence of the king, queen, and duke of Acquitaine, the king ordered the great hall of the palace to be magnificently prepared for a royal sessions. Thither were summoned all the principal noblemen, prelates and others, when the king appeared seated in his regal robes. On one side of him were the king of Navarre and the cardinal de Bar, and on the other the duke of Acquitaine, the duke of Berry, and all the other princes and nobles, each seated according to his rank: in like manner were the prelates, knights, and clergy, and a multitude of others, seated according to their respective situations in life.

Then, by the king's commands, the count de Tancarville, an able and eloquent man, harangued with a loud and clear voice, how

Richard late king of England, and son-in-law to the king, had been basely and treacherously put to death, during the time of a truce, by Henry of Lancaster, calling himself king of England, but then earl of Derby, in conjunction with his partisans, as might be fully proved by several of the English, near relations of the deceased king Richard:—And also how the young prince of Scotland, an ally to the king, when on his voyage to France, was taken by this same Henry, and detained his prisoner for a long time; as were likewise many Scots, who were in the company of the prince of Wales. Yvain Graindos *, with several of his Welshmen, allies also to the king, notwithstanding the aforesaid truce, were by the English harrassed with war. The eldest son likewise to the prince of Wales was made captive †, carried

* This Yvain Graindos is a strange corruption, if any corruption in the french nomenclature can be strange to a practised ear, of Owen Glendower, who, as Rapin says, 'upon the Welch unanimously renouncing their allegiance to the crown of England, and acknowledging him for sovereign, from thenceforward always styled himself Prince of Wales, as appears from several acts.'

† In a battle fought May 14. 1405. See Rapin's History of England *in loco*.

to England, and imprisoned by Henry for a considerable time.

'In consequence of the facts above stated, the king thinks he may, without further consideration, lawfully wage war against the said Henry and his english subjects, without giving them any respite. Notwithstanding this,' continued the orator, 'the king is desirous that whatever he may please to order should be for the common welfare of the state; and for this purpose a royal sessions has been held, for every one to consider these matters and what ought to be the line of conduct for him to pursue,—and, having an opinion thereon, if they will inform the king or his council thereof, the king will thank them and follow that advice which shall seem to him the most advantageous for the general good.

Upon this, the eldest of the princes of the blood, namely, the king's uncle the duke of Berry, arose from his seat, and, advancing in front of the king's throne, fell on his knees, and, speaking for himself and the other princes of the blood, declared they would relinquish, to the use of the state, all taxes and impositions which they annually levied

on their lands,—and in like manner would they relinquish all the fees and perquisites of office which they were in the habit of receiving from their places under the king, and as the members of his council.

The king kindly listened to the duke's speech, and accepted his offers, and then commanded him to be reseated. The lord Tancarville continued his harangue, saying, that the king, then present, revoked all pensions and grants which he had given, and thus publicly annulled them. In regard to the reformation and future management of the finances, the king declared his intention that such regulations as should be ordered by himself, and by the advice of the count de la Marche (who had now lost his wife, the daughter of the king of Navarre), his brother the count de Vendôme, the count de Saint Pol, and the other commissioners from the parliament, should be fully executed without excepting any person whatever; and that the reformations by them proposed should take place, as well in the chambers of accounts as in the generalities and in the household of the king,—and that all receivers, comptrollers, and all persons any way interested in the

management of the finances of the realm, whether bishops or archbishops, and of what rank soever, should be subjected to them.' The orator continued,—' That the king willed and ordered, that during his absence, the queen should call to her assistance some of the princes of the royal blood, and should govern the affairs of this kingdom according as she might judge most conducive to its welfare; and in case of the absence of the queen, the duke of Acquitaine, his son, then present, should govern the kingdom, with the assistance of the dukes of Berry and Burgundy.'

When the lord de Tancarville had more fully enlarged on the above matters, and concluded his speech, the king descended from his royal throne, and, with a small company, entered his apartment to dinner; and the whole assembly broke up, and departed to their hôtels.

After the dinner, the queen set out with her attendants for the castle of Vincennes, as it was the eve of the feast of the Circumcision, but left her son with the king. On the morrow, the feast-day, the duke of Burgundy (who had alone more princes, knights, and

gentlemen attached to him than all the other princes together,) gave presents of jewels and rich gifts, of greater magnificence than any one, according to the custom of that day. He made presents to all the knights and nobles of his household, to the amount, as was estimated, of fifteen thousand golden florins, of medals formed like to a mason's level, of gold and silver gilt; and at the pointed ends of these levels was fastened a small gilt chain, with a plummet of gold, so that it might be used as a rule.

Item, on Twelfth-day following, Louis king of Sicily, having been sent for by the king, entered Paris. He came from the city of Pisa, whither he had gone to visit pope Alexander V. and made his entry, attended by numbers of the nobility and clergy, who had gone out to meet him.

Shortly after, the cardinal de Thurey came to Paris, as ambassador from the pope to the king, who most honourably received him, as he likewise did Philibert de Lignac, grand master of Rhodes, and chief of the order of St John of Jerusalem, who had come from England.

The king now disbanded all the troops he had collected, as did the duke of Burgundy, excepting about one hundred or six score gentlemen, whom he retained, with those of his household, to guard his person: the others returned to their homes.

Before the duke of Burgundy left Paris, the duke of Acquitaine, with the consent of the king and queen, was intrusted to his care and guardianship, that he might be properly instructed in the arts of war and government. He had been very anxious to obtain this, and had caused several of the princes of the blood to press the matter: even his uncle, the duke of Berry, had, on this account, more than once refused the queen to accept of the guardianship of the duke of Acquitaine; but had so urged the business that the lord de Dolhaing *, knight, his principal esquire, counsellor and advocate, had, by the earnest desire of the queen, been made chancellor to the duke of Aequitaine, and the lord de Saint George his first chamberlain. The government of the castles of Crotoy and Beaurain-sur-Cance were granted to the duke of Berry for his life,

* De Dolhaing. Q. D'Olhaing?

on giving the preceding governors the usual pension, in whose room he appointed two of his own knights; the lord de Croy to Crotoy, and the lord de Humbercourt to Beaurain; and sir Reginald Pot was, at his request, appointed governor of Dauphiny for the dauphin. Soon after this, the king relapsed into his usual disorder, and was put under good guard. Those who were intrusted with the reform of abuses continued daily at work, and with such success that large sums were recovered from the late directors of the finances.

At this period, the princes and council of state went often to the castle of Vincennes, where the queen resided,—for without her knowledge no business of any importance was carried on. The dukes of Berry and Bourbon, however, were much discontented that they were not so often summoned to the council as before, and that their authority was greatly lessened. Seeing themselves, as it were, banished from the government, they took leave of the king, queen, and princes, and each retired to his own domains.

The cardinal de Thurey had come to Paris to solicit the university and council of

state to consent that pope Alexander might levy two-tenths on the gallican church, to defray the great expenses he was bound to pay. This request was not granted, because the university opposed it, in the name of the whole church. The better to effect this, the university required and obtained a royal mandate, to command all officers under the crown forcibly to send out of their jurisdictions all persons who should come thither making similar demands. The solicitors of this levy had brought to Paris with them a bull containing many novelties, which were not usually advanced, namely, that the tythes, and other things, such as oblations to the church, belonged to them in preference to the parochial clergy, for that in fact they were in the same capacity, inasmuch as whoever should confess themselves to them were not under the necessity of so doing to their own clergyman. This doctrine they publicly preached throughout Paris, and the members of the university preached in opposition to it, so that during Lent the whole town was in confusion and discord by these quarrels of the university and the mendicants, until they were driven out of it by the university. The Jacobins, however,

as the most prudent, renounced the bull, and made oath that they would never claim any advantages from it, nor from other privileges that had been granted to them. By this means, they were reconciled to the university. The pope, at this period, held his court with great state in Bologna la Grassa.

CHAP. XVI.

A GREAT DISSENSION TAKES PLACE THIS YEAR BETWEEN THE KING OF POLAND, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE GRAND MASTER OF PRUSSIA AND HIS KNIGHTS ON THE OTHER.

THIS year, a great quarrel arose between the king of Poland and the grand master of the Teutonic order in Prussia; and the king assembled a large force from different nations, which he marched into Prussia, with the intent to destroy it.

The grand master and his brethren soon made themselves ready to meet him with a great army, and showed every inclination to give him battle; but when the two armies were in sight of each other, through the will

of God, the king of Poland retreated with his forces, among which were twenty thousand Tartars at least, without counting his Polanders and others his Christian allies, who were very numerous, and returned to his own country.

Afterward, the king of Lithuania, by the exhortations of the king of Poland, invaded Prussia with an immense army, and destroyed the greater part which lay on the sea-shores. The Prussians made a thousand of them prisoners, and slew many.

The king of Poland was formerly an infidel, and son to the king of Lithuania, but, having a great ambition to reign, murdered his father, and was for this crime banished the country. He took refuge with the then king of Poland, who received him kindly, and admitted him into his friendship and confidence. He also gained the affections of the princes and nobles, insomuch that, on the death of their king, they unanimously elected this parricide to succeed him, had him baptised, and married him to the widow of the late king; and, since that time, he has happily enough governed that kingdom *.

* I suppose Monstrelet must mean Jagellon, grand duke of Lithuania, who was called to the throne of Poland

At this period, Sigismond king of Hungary, brother to the king of Bohemia, took to wife the sister of the above queen of Poland: they were daughters to a german count, called the count de Cilly, of the royal branch of Hungary *. The king of Poland laid claim to Hungary in right of his wife, and thence took occasion to harrass that country as well as Prussia. He sent secret messengers to the king of Lithuania, his cousin german and ally, to press him to invade Prussia on the quarter nearest the sea, when he would march his Polanders to form a junction and destroy the whole of it. His intentions were

in 1386, on condition that he would become a Christian, marry the daughter of the late king, and annex Lithuania to Poland. This last condition, however, was not completely fulfilled until the reign of Sigismond Augustus in 1569.

Baudran.

Jagellon took the name of Uladislaus V. on his baptism; but Hedwige, daughter to the king of Poland, reigned two years before she married Uladislaus.

Anderson.

* Sigismond was king of Hungary in 1387,—roman emperor 1411,—king of Bohemia 1419,—died 1437, aged 70. He married for his second wife Barbara, daughter to Hermannus II. count of Cilly in Crain.

Anderson.

discovered by the messenger being arrested by orders of the king of Hungary, and information sent of them to Prussia, whenceforward the king of Hungary and grand master took such wise precautions that his future attempts were fruitless.

[A. D. 1410.]

CHAP. XVII.

THE DUKE OF BERRY, BY THE KING'S COMMANDS, RETURNS TO PARIS.—THE MARRIAGE OF THE SON OF THE KING OF SICILY.—THE ASSEMBLY THAT IS HOLDEN AT MEUN LE CHASTEL.

THIS year, the duke of Berry was, by the king's orders, remanded to Paris, and, on his arrival, was sent, with the king of Navarre, to Giens sur Loire, to put an end to the quarrels between the duke of Brittany and the count and countess of Penthievre. Although both parties had promised to meet them, they did not personally attend, but sent commissioners.

The king of Navarre and the duke of Berry took great pains, and proposed various means, to bring about a reconciliation. Finding all their attempts fruitless, they referred the whole matter, with the consent of the commissioners, to the king's decision on All-saints-day next coming, and then they returned to Paris.

In this year was concluded the marriage between the eldest son of Louis king of Sicily, and Catherine, daughter to the duke of Burgundy. The lady was conducted by sir John de Châlons, lord de Darlay, the lord de St George, sir William de Champdivers, and sir James de Courtjambe, to Angers, and there delivered to the queen of Sicily, who received her most affectionately and honourably,—and she magnificently entertained the knights who had brought her. After a short stay at Angers, they returned to their lord, the duke of Burgundy, at Paris.

At this time, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts de Clermont, d'Alençon, d'Armagnac, the lord Charles d'Albreth, constable, and many other lords of great power and authority, held a meeting in the town of Meun le Châtel,—where they had

several long consultations with each other on the state of public affairs, and particularly as to the murder of the late duke of Orleans, principally to consider how they should proceed to take vengeance on the person who had committed it. Many different opinions were urged: one was, that the duke of Orleans should declare a deadly war against him, and carry it on by every possible means, with the assistance of his relations, friends, and the wellwishers to his cause.

Others said, it would be better to follow another course, and remonstrate strongly to the king, their sovereign lord, on the necessity he was under to do strict justice on the duke of Burgundy, to which he was the more particularly bound, as the murder was committed on his own brother. But, as they could not all agree in the same opinion, they broke up the meeting, and appointed another day to assemble again.

Before they separated, a treaty of marriage was entered upon between Charles duke of Orleans and the daughter of the count d'Armagnac. She was niece to the duke of Berry by her mother's side, and

sister * to the count de Savoye. This done, the lords departed for their own domains.

The duke of Burgundy resided in Paris, and ruled there more despotically than any other of the princes: affairs were solely carried on by him and his partisans, which, no doubt, made very many jealous of him.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE KING OF SICILY GOES TO PROVENCE AND TO BOLOGNA, TO MEET HIS RIVAL KING LADISLAUS.—THE DEATH OF POPE ALEXANDER, AND THE ELECTION OF POPE JOHN.

About this period, Louis king of Sicily set out from Paris with a numerous body of men at arms, and went for Provence, and thence to Bologna, to meet king Ladislaus, his opponent, and to defend his kingdom of Naples, where his rival was committing great devastation. King Louis had for this raised so considerable a force,

* Of the half blood. See p. 138.

that he might be enabled to offer him combat; and he had also the hope that pope Alexander would assist him, to the utmost of his ability, in money and in men.

An end was soon put to his expectations in this respect; for, on the morrow of the feast of the discovery of the holy cross, pope Alexander was poisoned in the town of Bologna, as was currently reported, and died most pitifully. His bowels were interred, and his obsequies were performed in the church of the Cordeliers. Mass was celebrated by the cardinal de Vimers: the deacon and under deacon were the cardinals d'Espaigne and de Thurey. The whole court was dressed in deep mourning.

The 6th of May, the corpse of the pope, having been embalmed with fine spices, was placed in the hall of audience, dressed in his papal robes, his face uncovered, gloves on his hands, but his feet naked, so that whoever pleased might kiss them,—and nine funeral services were there performed.

There were present twenty cardinals, two patriarchs, four archbishops, twenty-four bishops, with many prelates, abbots, and other churchmen. His escutcheon of arms were placed at the four corners of his coffin; and

for nine days, masses were celebrated in the same manner as on the morrow of his death. The masses were said by the cardinals in rotation; and the ninth day, the body was carried to the Cordeliers for interment.

The two first bearers were the cardinals de Vimers and de Challant, and the two last the cardinals d'Espaigne and de Thurey. The cardinal Milles preceded the body bearing a cross. The chorists were the cardinals de Bar, (not the son of the duke of Bar, but the cardinal of Bar * in Calabria), and d'Orsini. The cardinal de Vimers performed the service, as he had done at the interment of the bowels.

When this ceremony was over, the cardinals returned home dressed in black; and after dinner, they assembled at the palace, and entered into conclave, where they remained shut up from the Wednesday to the Saturday following. Some of the cardinals, having consulted together, proposed Balthazar, cardinal of Bologna, as sovereign pontiff of the universal church; and the others, who were not of this opinion, seeing

* *I. e.* Bari.

their numbers were very small, consented to it; and the new pope was conducted by them to the church of St Peter, where they placed the tiara on his head, and took the oaths of fidelity to him. They then led him to the palace of his predecessor, where every piece of furniture had been carried off, and there did not remain even a door or window-frame.

On the morrow, he took the name of pope John XXIII. and great were the rejoicings and feasts that ensued. In the procession were twenty-three cardinals, two patriarchs, three archbishops, twenty-seven abbots, mitred and non-mitred, without reckoning other churchmen, who were almost numberless. The pope wore on that day a silver-gilt tiara bound with white. The following Saturday, the 23d of May, the pope received, in the chapel of his predecessors, the holy order of priesthood, when the cardinal de Vimers said the mass, and the cardinal de Challant was deacon: at this service, all the before-named prelates attended.

On the following day, Sunday, the pope celebrated mass in the church of St Peter, having the cardinal de Vimers near him to

show him the service. The marquis of Ferrara and the lord of Malatesta were present, and held the bason wherein the pope washed his hands. The marquis of Ferrara had brought with him fifty-four knights, all clothed in scarlet and blue, having five trumpets and four companies of minstrels, each playing on a different instrument.

When mass was finished, pope John was carried out of the church to a very handsome platform erected without the porch, and there solemnly crowned in the presence of all those whom I have mentioned, and a great multitude of doctors and clergy.

When seated on his throne, which was covered all over with cloth of gold, he was surrounded by the cardinals de Vimers, de Challant, de Milles, d'Espaigne, de Thurey, and de Bar, having tufts of tow in their hands. The cardinals lighted their tufts; and as the flame was suddenly extinguished, they addressed the pope, saying, 'Thus, holy father, passes the glory of this world!' This was done three times.

The cardinal de Vimers having said some prayers over him and on the crown, placed it

upon his head. This crown was a triple one: the first of gold, which encircled the forehead within the mitre; the second of gold and silver, about the middle of the mitre; and the third, of very fine gold, surmounted it. He was then led down from the platform, and placed on a horse covered over with scarlet furniture. The horses of the cardinals and bishops, &c. were caparisoned in white; and in this state he was conducted from street to street, making every where the sign of the cross, until he came to where the Jews resided, who presented him with a manuscript of the Old Testament. He took it with his own hand, and, having examined it a little, threw it behind him, saying, 'Your religion is good, but this of ours is better.'

As he departed, the Jews followed him, intending to touch him,—in the attempt of which, the caparison of his horse was all torn. —Wherever he passed, the pope distributed money,—that is to say, quadrini and mailles of Florence, with other coins. There were before and behind him two hundred men at arms, each having in his hand a leathern mallet, with which they struck the Jews in such wise as it was a pleasure to see.

On the morrow, he returned to his palace, accompanied by the cardinals dressed in crimson,—the patriarchs in like manner,—the archbishops and bishops in similar dresses, having white mitres on their heads, and numbers of mitred and non-mitred abbots. In this procession were, the marquis of Ferrara *, the lord Malatesta †, the lord of Gaucourt ‡, and others, to the amount of forty-four, as well dukes as counts and knights of Italy, all dressed out in their liveries. In each street, two and two by turns led the pope's horse by the bridle,—the one on the right hand, and another on the left.

There were thirty-six bagpipes and trumpets, and ten bands of minstrels playing on musical instruments, each band consisting

* Probably Nicholas d'Este, connected by marriage with the house of Malatesta.

† Probably Pandulph Malatesta, lord of Rimini, a captain of great reputation and adherent of king Ladislaus.

‡ Sir Raoul de Gaucourt, successively promoted to the posts of chamberlain, governor of Dauphinè, and grand master of the household, became a distinguished actor in the wars with the English, from 1427 to 1437 particularly.

There was also a sir Eustace de Gaucourt, lord of Vicy, who was grand falconer in 1406 and 1412.

of three performers. There were also singers, especially those of the chapel of his predecessor, as well as those belonging to the cardinals and from different parts of Italy, who rode before the pope loudly chaunting various airs, sacred and profane.

When he arrived at the palace, he gave his peace to all the cardinals, who, according to their rank in the college, kissed his foot, hand, or mouth. The cardinal de Vimers first performed the ceremony, and was followed by the other cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots and clergy. He then gave his benediction to the four elements, and to all persons in a state of grace, as well to those absent as present, and bestowed his dispensations for four months to come, provided that, during this time, three Pater-nosters should be said by each in praying for his predecessor, pope Alexander.

Pope John then went to dinner, as it was now about twelve o'clock, and this ceremony had commenced between five and six in the morning.

In honour of him, feasts were continued at Bologna for the space of eight days; and on each of them very handsome processions

were made round St Peter's church, when the prelates were all dressed in vermilion robes, with copes of the same. In like manner did the Carthusians of St Michael's Mount, without the walls of Bologna.

The next day, the 25th of May, pope John held a consistory, in the presence of the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and presented to the marquis of Ferrara and the italian heralds, many and various rich gifts. This was followed by a great feast, with dancing and music. The ensuing day, the pope revoked all that his predecessor had done, excepting what he had confirmed, or what had been taken corporal or spiritual possession of.

King Louis of Sicily arrived at Bologna the Friday after the coronation of the pope, and twenty-two cardinals, two patriarchs, six archbishops, twenty bishops and eighteen abbots, handsomely equipped, went out of the city to meet him: on his entrance, he went directly to the pope. He was clothed in scarlet, and his horse's furniture was ornamented with small gilt bells: he was attended by about fifty knights dressed in his uniform. It was the last day of May that the king arrived,—

and he was most graciously received by the pope.

The ensuing day, the Florentines came to pay their duty and reverence to the holy father. They were about three hundred horse, among whom were eighteen knights dressed in scarlet, with feathers bespangled with gold. They were attended by six trumpets, two heralds, and ten musicians playing on different instruments. When they had made their reverence to the pope, they returned to their hôtels, and the next day went to court. By reason of their alliance with king Louis, they supplicated the pope to give him assistance against his adversary king Ladislaus, adding, that they intended affording him every aid in their power of men and money. These Florentines were very indignant at the late conduct of the Genoese in regard to the king of Sicily; for when the king of Sicily was sailing with five gallies from Marseilles, near to the port of Genoa, the Genoese, being in the interest of king Ladislaus, hastily armed fifteen gallies with cross-bows and men at arms, and sent them to attack the remainder of king Louis's fleet that was following him, which they conquered, all but one, that escaped back

to Marseilles by superior sailing, and carried the crews and all their baggage prisoners to Genoa.

The pope, having heard their request, asked some time to consider of it before he gave an answer. He could not well consent to it, because the Genoese had been long connected with him, and he had also entered into some engagements with king Ladislaus. The matter was, therefore, deferred. King Louis was, notwithstanding this, magnificently feasted by the pope and cardinals; after which, he left his court well pleased, and returned to Provence.

On the first day of June, the pope held an open court, and signed many graces and benefices, and all such things as with honour and justice he could sign. He continued from that time to hold public audiences, and to do whatever business appertained to the papacy.

CHAP. XIX.

THE GRAND MASTER OF PRUSSIA MARCHES A POWERFUL ARMY OF CHRISTIANS INTO LITHUANIA.

THIS year, 1410, the grand master of the Teutonic order, accompanied by his brother knights and a numerous army of three hundred thousand Christians, invaded the kingdom of Lithuania, to destroy the whole of it. The king of Lithuania was soon ready to meet him; and, aided by the king of Sarmatia, he assembled an army of four hundred thousand infidels, and offered battle.

The Christians gained a complete victory, —for there remained dead on the field full thirty-six thousand infidels, the principals of whom were the grand general of Lithuania and the constable of Sarmatia. The remnant, with the other officers, escaped by flight. Of the Christians, only two hundred were slain, but a great many were wounded.

Shortly after, the king of Poland, who was a determined enemy to the grand master

of Prussia, (and who had but faintly accepted of Christianity in order to obtain his kingdom) marched his Polanders to the assistance of the infidels, whom he strongly pressed to renew the war against Prussia, insomuch that, eight days after this defeat, the king of Poland, in conjunction with the aforesaid two kings, assembled an army of six hundred thousand men, and marched against the grand master of Prussia, and other Christian lords. A battle ensued, which was lost by the Christians, who had more than sixty thousand killed and wounded. In the number of dead were the grand master of Prussia, with a noble knight from Normandy, called sir John de Ferriere, son to the lord de Ferriere, and another from Picardy, son to the lord du Bos d'Ancquin.

It was currently reported that the day had been lost through the fault of the constable of Hungary, who commanded the second squadron of the Christians, by running away with all his Hungarians. The infidels, however, did not gain the glory without loss,—for without counting the Polanders, who had ten thousand men slain, they lost upward of six-score thousand men, according to the reports of the heralds,

and the bastard of Scotland, called the count de Hembe *.

The lord de Kyeuraing and John de Grez, Hainaulters, were there, and with them full twenty-four gentlemen, their countrymen, who were unhurt at this battle, and returned home as speedily as they could.

After the engagement, the infidels entered Prussia, and despoiled many parts of it, and took twelve inclosed towns in a short time and destroyed them. They would have persevered in their wickedness, and have done further mischief, had not a valiant knight of the Teutonic order, named Charles de Mouroufle †, rallied a great number of the Christians who had fled, and by his prudence and vigour regained the greater part of these towns, and finally driven the infidels out of the country ‡.

* Count de Hembe. Q.

† Charles de Mouroufle. Q.

‡ The author of 'An Account of Livonia, with a Relation of the Rise, Progress and Decay of the Marian Teutonic Order,' London, 1701, relates these transactions in the manner following:

'The order was now on the highest pinnacle of prosperity and honour, exceeding great kings and potentates

CHAP. XX.

THE DUKE OF BERRY QUITS PARIS, AND RETIRES TO HIS OWN ESTATES.—HE GOES AFTERWARD TO ANGERS, AND UNITES WITH THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND THE OTHER PRINCES OF HIS PARTY.

THE duke of Berry, finding that he had not that government of the king and the duke of

of Europe in extent of dominions, power and riches, when Ulricus à Jungingen was chosen great master; but he being of a boisterous, fiery temper, soon broke the peace concluded between Poland with his brother Conradus à Jungingen, whereupon king Uladislaus Jagellon joining forces with his father Witoldas of Lithuania, formed an army of 150,000 fighting men and marched into Prussia. To stop the progress of this formidable army, the great master drew up as many forces as he could, and, after the Livonians had joined him, found his army consisted, in a general muster, of 83,000 well armed stout combatants; and thus, with an undaunted spirit, he marched forth to meet his enemy. Such a battle as this was never heard of before in these parts, and was given the 15th day of July 1410 in Prussia, near the town Gilgenbourg, between the two villages Tannenberg and Grunwald, on a large plain, with such obstinacy that, according to an exact computation, there were actually killed, on both sides, 100,000 on the spot. The Poles got the victory, but lost 60,000 men. The order lost 40,000,—but

Acquitaine to which he had been accustomed, became very discontented, and retired to his estates, indignant at the ministers, and particularly at his nephew and godson, the duke of Burgundy. Shortly after, he went to Angers, where the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, and all the principal lords of that party, were assembled.

They went in a body to the cathedral church, and there made oath, in the most solemn manner, to support each other, and mutually to defend their honour against all who should attempt any thing against it, excepting the king, and ever to remain in strict friendship united, without acting to the contrary in any kind of measure.

Many great lords in France were not pleased with this confederation; and when, shortly after, news of it was brought to the

among them almost all their generals and commanders. The great master himself, and the chief of the order, with 600 noble german marian knights, were there slain. There is still kept every year a day of devotion upon that plain, in a chapel built to the remembrance of this battle, marked with the date of the year it happened, and this inscription, *Centum mille occisi.* The king of Poland was so weakened by this dear-bought victory that he very readily agreed to a peace. This memorable battle is called The Battle of Tannenberg.'

king and his council, he was much astonished and dissatisfied therewith.

The king, in consequence of the advice of the duke of Burgundy and his friends, marched out of Paris, accompanied by him, the duke of Brabant, the count de Montagu, and a large body of chivalry, and went to Senlis: thence to the town of Creil, to regain the castle of that place, which the duke of Bourbon held, and had given the government of it to some of his people.

The governor made so many delays before he surrendered it that the king became much displeased; and because they had not obeyed his first summons, the garrison were made prisoners, and carried bound to the prisons of the Châtelet in Paris. The countess of Clermont, cousin-german to the king, soon after made application for their deliverance, and obtained it; and on the morrow the king appointed another garrison, and returned to Paris.

This expedition was not very agreeable to the Orleans-faction,—and they continued to collect daily, and inlist in their party as many as they could.

The duke of Burgundy became very uneasy at their proceedings; for he suspected the duke of Orleans and his party would infringe the peace which had so lately been patched up between them at Chartres, or that they would march a large force to Paris, to seize the government, together with the persons of the king and duke of Acquitaine.

To obviate this, he caused several royal summons to be proclaimed in various parts of the realm, for the assembling of men at arms and quartering them in the villages round Paris, to be ready to defend the king and his government against the ill-intentioned. By the advice of his brothers and the king of Navarre, he resolved to defend himself by force against his adversaries, and caused it to be proclaimed throughout the kingdom, in the king's name, that no one should dare to assemble armed in company of the dukes of Berry and Orleans, and their allies, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods.

The Orleans-faction, however, continued their meetings in spite of this proclamation, and even forced their vassals to serve under

and accompany them: I mean, such of them as were dilatory in obeying their summons. There were, therefore, at this time, great and frequent assemblies of armed men in different parts of France, to the prejudice of the poor people.

Those lords that were well inclined to the king came to Paris, and their men were quartered in the flat country of the island of France. The Orleans-party fixed their quarters at Chartres and the adjacent parts; and their forces might amount, according to the estimate of well-informed persons, to full six thousand men in armour, four thousand cross-bows, and sixteen hundred archers, without counting the unarmed infantry, of which there were great numbers.

In regard to the army which the duke of Burgundy had assembled by orders from the king, it was estimated to consist of upward of sixteen thousand combatants, all men of tried courage. During this time, the king of Navarre and his brother, the count de Mortain, at the request of the duke of Burgundy, negotiated a peace between the duke of Brittany, their nephew, and the count de Penthievre, son-in-law to the duke of Burgundy.

This was done in the hope that the duke of Brittany would be induced to assist the king with his Bretons, and give up the Orleans-party, to whom he had engaged himself. On the conclusion of this peace between the two parties, twenty thousand golden crowns were sent the duke, to defray the expenses he had been at in raising men at arms.

Large sums of money were also sent to the lord d'Albreth, constable of France, that he might collect a numerous body of men at arms, and march them to Paris, to serve the king. He had not any great desire to perform this, for he was wholly inclined to the duke of Orleans and his allies, as was perfectly notorious shortly afterward.

CHAP. XXI.

THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON.—THE PROCLAMATION OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND HIS ALLIES SEND LETTERS TO THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS IN FRANCE.

During this troublesome time, Louis duke of Bourbon, uncle to the king of France by the

mother's side, being full sixty years of age, feeling himself oppressed with years and sickness, caused himself to be conveyed to his residence at Moulins* in the Bourbonnois, where he departed this life, and was buried in the church of the canons, which he had founded.

He was succeeded by his only son, the count de Clermont, who, after some days of lamentation, had the funeral obsequies of his father performed, and, having arranged his affairs, returned to the duke of Orleans and the other lords at Chartres, and firmly united himself with them, treading in the steps of his late father. The duke of Bourbon had long held the office of great chamberlain of France, from the friendship of the king, and was in possession of it even at the time of his death; but at the entreaty of the king of Navarre and the duke of Burgundy, the king

* Moreri says, that the good duke Louis died at Monbucan on the 19th of August 1410. By his wife Anne, dauphiness of Auvergne and countess of Forez, he left John count of Clermont, his son and successor: his other children, Louis and two daughters, died without issue and unmarried. He left also a natural son, named Hector, who was killed at the siege of Soissons in 1414.

now gave it to the count de Nevers, to exercise the duties of it in the usual manner.

At this time, the duchess of Brittany, daughter to the king of France, was brought to bed of a son; and she sent to request the duke of Acquitaine, her brother, to stand godfather. He sent, as his proxy, sir David de Brimeu, knight, lord of Humbercourt, with a handsome present of jewels, which sir David gave her on the part of the duke of Acquitaine.

The king again issued his summons to the different bailiwicks and seneschalships in the realm, for all persons to arm without delay who were bounden so to do from the tenure of their fiefs or arriere fiefs, and to march instantly to Paris to serve the king against the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Bourbon, the counts d'Armagnac, d'Alençon, and others their allies, who, notwithstanding the king's positive orders to the contrary, continued daily to assemble large bodies of men at arms, to the destruction of his country and subjects.

The above dukes wrote letters to the king, to the university of Paris, and to many of the principal towns, to explain the causes why they had thus confederated and collected men

at arms; one of which, signed with their signs-manuel, they sent to the town of Amiens, and the contents were as follows:

'To our well-beloved and very dear citizens, burgesses, and inhabitants of the town of Amiens, health and affection. We have written to our most redoubted and sovereign lord the king of France in manner following:—We dukes of Berry, of Orleans, and of Bourbon, counts of Alençon and of Armagnac, your humble uncles, relations and subjects, for ourselves and all others our adherents, wellwishers to your person,—as the rights of your domination, your crown and royal majesty, have been so nobly instituted, and founded on justice, power, and the true obedience of your subjects,—and as your glory and authority are resplendent through all parts of the world, you having been worthily consecrated and anointed by the holy roman see, and considered by all Christendom as sovereign monarch and equal distributor of justice, as well to the poor as to the rich, without owing obedience to any other lord, but God and his Divine Majesty, who has been pleased most worthily to have gifted you,—may all those who are connected with you by

blood, by their frank and loyal affections, guard and defend your sacred person as your relations and subjects.

'And may we, in particular, as your near relations, and for that cause more obliged to it, set an example of due obedience to your other subjects, and exert ourselves in preserving to you free liberty of action in every part of your government, insomuch that you may have power to reward the good and punish the wicked, and to preserve every one in his just rights, and likewise that you may execute justice in such wise that your kingdom may remain in peace, first to the honour of God, and then to your own honour, and to the example of your good friends and subjects, by following the paths of your predecessors, the kings of France, who, by this noble way of governing their great kingdom, have ever preserved tranquillity and peace, insomuch that all Christian nations, far and near, and even infidels, have had recourse to them in their disputes, and have been perfectly contented with their decisions on the cases referred to them, as the fountains of justice and loyalty.

'And, most sovereign lord, that your power, justice, and the state of your government

may not suffer at present any wound or diminution, and that public affairs may be managed according to the principles of reason, in such wise as may be apparent to all men of sound understanding;—

'For this effect, most redoubted sovereign, we, the above-written, have confederated and assembled, that we may most humbly lay before you the real state of your situation, in regard to your royal person, and also that of my lord of Acquitaine, your eldest son. We have likewise to lay before you the manner in which you are enthralled, and the government carried on, that justice may be restored, and the public weal no longer suffer, as we can more fully explain. Should any persons deny this, let your majesty, by the advice of your council, appoint some of the princes of your blood, and other impartial and unprejudiced persons, to inquire into it, in whatever number you in your wisdom may select. But we advise that you speedily and effectually provide for the safety of your own person, and for that of my lord of Acquitaine, your eldest son, so that your state may enjoy justice and a good government, to the advancement of the public welfare, and that the power and authority may be exercised by

you alone, freely and uncontrolled by any other person whatever; and that such a desirable object may be obtained, we, the above-named, offer our earnest prayers, and, at the same time, our lives and fortunes, whatever they may be, which God has graciously granted us in this world, for the just defence of your rights, and in opposing all who may attempt to infringe on them, if any such there be.

'Most redoubted lord, we also inform you, that we shall not break up our confederation until you shall have listened to us, and until we shall see that you have properly provided against the inconveniences we have mentioned, and until you be fully and wholly reinstated in that power which is your right. To this, most redoubted lord, are we bound, as well in regard to what we have already said, as from fear, honour and reverence to our Creator, from whom originates your royal authority, and also to satisfy justice, and then yourself, who are sovereign king on earth, and our sole lord. To your support we are urged by our kindred and by our love to your person; for in truth, most redoubted sovereign, there is nothing we dread so much as having offended God, yourself, and wounded our own

honour, by leaving for so long time unnoticed the aforesaid grievances, which are notorious to every one.

'In like manner as we signify the above to you, we shall do the same to all prelates, lords, universities, cities and principal towns of your realm, and in general to all your wellwishers.

'Most redoubted lord, we humbly supplicate that you will deign to hear us, and consider of what we have written,—for the sole object we aim at personally affects yourself and your government; and we earnestly beg that you will speedily adopt the most effectual measures for the enjoyment of your own freedom of action, and that your government may be carried on to the praise of God first, and your own glory, and to the advantage of all your good subjects who are anxious for your welfare.

'We have written this, that you may know our intentions, and the cause of our assembling, which is solely for the preservation of the personal liberty of our lord and king, and the affranchisement of his government from any hands but his own. For this object we have sought the advice of the most prudent men, and shall follow their counsels, with all

the means God has put in our power, to obtain so desirable an end, for the general welfare of the realm; and we intend so to act toward our lord the king that God and the world shall be satisfied with us.

'And we most earnestly entreat that for so praiseworthy an object you will join us, and exert yourselves in the same cause; for it is not properly us but the king your lord that you will serve, whom by your oaths you are bounden to assist,—and know that for so doing you will be commended by all men of understanding and prudence. Given at Chartres the 2d day of December, 1410.'

This letter, when received by the council of the town of Amiens, produced very little sensation,—for all, or the greater part of the inhabitants, were inclined to the duke of Burgundy. When a similar one was read in the council of state, it did not make any impression on the king, nor did it seem advisable that the dukes should have an audience; but, on the contrary, orders were sent to them to disband their forces without delay, on pain of incurring the royal indignation. ——They refused to obey this order, and bade the messenger tell the king, that they would

not cease assembling until he should grant them an audience, and hear their complaints. At this period, the dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy paid a visit to the queen of France at her residence in the castle of Melun, and left there a garrison, having brought back with them the queen and her children to the castle of Vincennes.

The duke of Brabant at this time left Paris, to go to his country, and assemble his Brabanters to serve the king. Many able ambassadors were sent, in the king's name, to the lords assembled at Chartres; and among them was the grand master of Rhodes, to signify to them that they must disband their army, and that, if they pleased to wait on the king in their private capacity, he would see them.

This they refused; and as they continued disobedient, the king took possession of the counties of Boulogne*, Estampes, Valois,

* Boulogne, the property of the duke of Berry, by marriage with Jane, heiress of Auvergne and Boulogne.

The county of Estampes belonged to the duke of Berry,
Valois, I believe, to the count d'Alençon,
Beaumont to the duke of Orleans,—and
Clermont to the duke of Bourbon.

Beaumont, Clermont, and other lands belonging to the said dukes, counts, and their adherents, of whatever rank they might be. The king's officers appointed governors to the castles and fortresses within these countries, whom they ordered to govern them at the expense of the aforesaid lords.

So very numerous were the forces that assembled near Paris, in obedience to the summons from the king and the duke of Burgundy, that the oldest persons had not for a long time seen so many men at arms together.

Among the number was the duke of Brabant, with a great force. He was quartered in the town of St Denis, where he lived at the expense of the greater part of the inhabitants, as if he had been in the open country. The count de Penthievre, son-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, was there with him, accompanied by a large body of Bretons.

Two thousand men belonging to the count Waleran de St Pol were quartered at Menil-Aubry, and the adjacent villages.—Because the count himself resided in Paris, he one day ordered his troops to be assembled under the lord de Chin, for him to march them

to Paris to be mustered and enrolled for pay; but it happened, as they were marching through St Denis to obey the order, that a dispute arose between them and the Brabanters, on account of some enterprise which the last had made against the lord de Carlian, a native of the Boulonois, so that the two parties armed and drew up in battle-array to decide matters by combat. The duke of Brabant was soon informed of this tumult, and hastened from Paris to check his own men, and acted so prudently with both parties that an end was put to it; but he was very wroth with the first promoters of it, for he was married to the daughter and heiress of the count de St Pol.

When they had marched through Saint Denis, they came before their lord, the count de St Pol, in Paris, who having reviewed them, and paid many compliments to their captains, dismissed them to the quarters whence they had come. In order to pay these troops which had been levied, as has been said, by orders from the king and the duke of Burgundy, and which amounted, by the muster-rolls, to fifteen thousand men with helmets, seventeen thousand cross-bows and archers, very heavy taxes were levied throughout the realm, and

particularly on the city of Paris. It will be impossible to relate one half of the mischiefs the armies of both parties committed: suffice it to say, that churches, churchmen, and the poor people were very great sufferers.

The Orleans-party, shortly after this, marched from Chartres to Montlehery, seven leagues from Paris, and there, and in the neighbouring villages, quartered their army, ruining the whole country on their line of march. The lords and adherents of this faction, as well clergy as seculars, wore, as their badge, a narrow band of white linen on their shoulders, hanging over their left arm, like to a deacon when celebrating divine service.

When the king of France and his council learnt that they had approached so near the capital, they hastily dispatched to the leaders the count de la Marche, the archbishop of Rheims, the bishop of Beauvais, and the grand master of Rhodes, with some others, to persuade them to disband their army, and come before him at Paris, in consequence of his former orders, without arms, in the manner in which vassals should wait on their lords, and that he would do them justice in regard to their

demands; but that, should they refuse, he would instantly march his forces against them.—The princes made answer, that they would not act otherwise than they had said in their letter to the king; and the ambassadors, seeing they could not gain any thing, returned to Paris.

In like manner, the university sent to them an embassy of learned men, headed by Noeétz, abbot of Povegny and doctor in divinity, who harangued them very ably and gravely. They were very handsomely received by the princes, especially by the duke of Berry, who, among other grievances, complained much that his nephew, the king, should be counselled by such fellows as the provost of Paris, and others of the same sort, who now ruled the realm, which was most miserably governed, as he was ready to explain, article by article, when they should be admitted to an audience.

They could obtain no other reply than that, with God's pleasure, they would accomplish, to the utmost of their power, the matters contained in their circular letters to the university and principal towns.

On this repeated ill success, the king, by the advice of his coucil, sent another embassy,

composed of the queen, the cardinal de Bar, the count de St Pol, and others. The count de St Pol had lately accepted, with the king's approbation, the office of grand butler of France, which the provost of Paris had held, through the interest of the count de Tancarville, by a gift from the king.

Notwithstanding the queen and her companions were received with every honour, she did not remain with their army, but went to the castle of Marcoussi, which is not far distant from Montlehery, with her attendants, and remained there some time negotiating with them, and some of the princes daily visited her. Although she acted with much perseverance, she failed in her object,—for the princes were firm in their resolution of marching with their army to the king, and requiring that he would execute justice and attend to the affairs of government, and choose another set of ministers than those now in power.

Finding she was labouring in vain, she returned with her companions to Paris, and related to the king all that had passed. He was very indignant, and much troubled thereat; and on the morrow, the 23d September, he ordered all the men at arms that were come to

serve him to be drawn out, and the baggage and artillery waggons to be made ready instantly to march against the Orleans-party, to give them battle.

When all were ready, and as he was going to attend mass and afterward to mount his horse, he was met by the rector of the university, magnificently accompanied by all the members and supporters of it, who remonstrated with him, that his daughter, the university of Paris, was preparing to leave that city, from the great want of provisions, which the men at arms of the two parties prevented coming to Paris,—for no one could venture on the high roads without being robbed and insulted; and, likewise, that all the low countries round Paris were despoiled by these men at arms. They most humbly requested, that he would provide a remedy, and give them such answer as might seem to him good. The chancellor, namely, master Arnauld de Corbie, instantly replied, 'The king will assemble his council after dinner, and you shall have an answer.' The king of Navarre, being present, entreated the king that he would fix an hour for hearing them again after dinner; and the

king, complying with his request, appointed an hour for the rector to return.

When the king had dined, he entered the *chambre verde*, attended by the following princes: the dukes of Acquitaine, Burgundy and Brabant, the marquis du Pont, the duke of Lorraine, the counts de Mortain, de Nevers and de Vaudemont, with many other great lords, as well ecclesiastical as secular. The king of Navarre made four requests to the king: first, that all the princes of the blood, as well on the one side as on the other, should retire to their principalities, and never more interfere in the king's government, and likewise that henceforth they should not receive any profits or pensions, as well from the subsidies arising from their lands as from other exactions, but live on their own proper revenues until the public treasury should be in a better state than it was at that moment: however, should the king be inclined to make them presents of any thing, or call them near his person, they should be alway ready to obey him.

His second request was, that some diminution should take place in those taxes that most aggrieved the people.

The third, that as some of the citizens of Paris had lent different sums of money to the king, of which repayment had been promised, but not made, sufficient assignments on the treasury should be given to them.

The fourth, that the affairs of the king and realm should be governed by prudent men, taken from the three estates of the kingdom. When the king of Navarre had ended, the king himself replied, and said he would take advice on what he had proposed, and then give him such answers as ought to satisfy him and every one else.

When this was over, the king showed the same determination as before to march, on the morrow morning, against the rebellious lords; but he was overruled, and the queen, with the former ambassadors, were again sent to negotiate a peace. On their arrival at the army of the princes, she exerted herself, as it was said, very much and loyally; for it was commonly reported that she was in her heart inclined to the Orleans faction.

During the time of this embassy, the count Amé de Savoye, who had been sent for by the king, arrived at Paris with five hundred men at arms. His brothers-in-law the dukes of

Burgundy and Brabant, and the count de Nevers, attended by many other lords, went out to meet him beyond the gate of St Anthony, and thence conducted him to the palace to the king, who very kindly received him.

Some days after, the queen, not having more success than before, returned to the king, and told him that she could not any way bring them to terms, for they were obstinate in their original intentions. She then hastened to the castle of Vincennes as speedily as she could.

On the ensuing morning, the aforesaid lords quitted Montlehery; and the duke of Berry came to his hôtel of Vinchestre *, which he had rebuilt, and was there lodged. The duke of Orleans fixed his quarters at Gentilly, in the palace of the bishop, and the count d'Armagnac at Vitry; the rest as near to each other as they could; and at vespers, they had advanced as far as the suburbs of St Marcel and the gate de Bordelles.

The king, the duke of Burgundy, and the other princes, were greatly surprised at this

* Vinchestre, or rather Winchester,—now called Bicêtre, was a palace built by a bishop of Winchester 1290. For further particulars, see 'Sauval Antiquitês de Paris', vol. ii. book vii.

boldness; and the Parisians, at their own expense, collected a body of a thousand men armed with helmets to serve as a guard during the night, and they also made great fires in very many of the streets. To prevent them from crossing the Seine at Charenton, they sent two hundred men at arms to defend that pass.

The third day, Arthur count de Richemont, brother to the duke of Brittany, joined the dukes of Berry and Orleans, with six thousand breton horse, to the great displeasure of the king, and especially of the duke of Burgundy; for the duke of Brittany had lately been summoned by the king to attend him with his Bretons, and had, for this purpose, received a very large sum of money. The duke, in consequence, having other business in hand, sent his brother to serve the king in his room.

It was also said, that the lord d'Albreth, constable of France, had disposed of the money sent him in the same manner, and had employed it in the service of the duke of Berry. The army of the princes marched to Saint Cloud, and to the adjoining towns, which they plundered, taking by force whatever they were in need of. Some of the worst of them ravished and robbed many women, who fled to Paris,

and made clamorous outcries against their ravishers, requiring vengeance from the king, and restitution, were it possible, of what they had been plundered of.

The king, moved with pity, and by the importunity of his ministers, ordered a decree to be drawn out, which condemned the whole of the Orleans-party to death and confiscation of goods. While this was doing, the duke of Berry, uncle to the king, hastily sent ambassadors to Paris to prevent it from taking effect, and in the name of their lord requested that the decree might be a little delayed, when other means of accommodation, through God's grace, would be found.

This request was granted, and the proclamation of the decree put off: a negotiation was entered into warmly by both parties, although the king was very much displeased that the princes of his blood were thus quarrelling with each other, so that he should be forced to proceed with rigour against them. To prevent the effusion of blood, the king desired his chancellor and others of his privy council to exert themselves diligently that peace might be established; and he likewise spoke to the same purpose to the

duke of Burgundy, the count de St Pol, and other princes, who promised faithfully that an accommodation should take place.

While these matters were going on, the lord de Dampierre, the bishop of Noyon, the lord de Tignonville, master Gautier de Col, and others, ambassadors from the king of France, were sent from Paris to Boulogne, to meet an embassy from the king of England, consisting of the lord Beaumont, the bishop of St David's, and others, who had arrived at Calais to treat of a truce. It was prolonged from All-saints-day, when the former one expired, to the feast of Easter ensuing.

CHAP. XXII.

IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES OF BURGUNDY AND OF ORLEANS, PEACE IS MADE BETWEEN THEM, AND CALLED 'THE PEACE OF WINCHESTER,' WHICH WAS THE SECOND PEACE.

After the ambassadors from both parties, namely those of the king and duke of

Burgundy on the one hand, and those of the dukes of Berry, of Orleans, and of Bourbon, on the other, had held several conferences, the following treaty was at length concluded, on the 2d of November.

The princes of the blood on each side, with the exception of the count de Mortain, were to retire to their principalities, and lead back their forces, committing as little damage as possible to the countries they should pass through, without fraud or deception. The duke of Berry had liberty, if he pleased, to reside at Giens-sur-Loire, and the count d'Armagnac might stay there with him for fifteen days. The king of Navarre was to depart for his duchy of Nemours. The duke of Brabant might, if he so pleased, visit his sister, the duchess of Burgundy, in that country.

The aforesaid princes were to conduct their men at arms so that all trespassing might be mutually avoided on each other's lands,—nor should they suffer any of their adherents to commit waste or damage, so that all inconvenience or source of quarrel might be avoided.

Item, in whatever garrisons there shall be more men than are usually kept, the same

shall be reduced to the accustomed number of men retained therein for its defence, without any fraud or deception. And that these terms may be faithfully observed, the aforesaid lords shall promise, on their oaths, made before such princes as the king may nominate, that they will punctually and loyally keep every article.

Item, the captains of their troops shall make oath also to the due observance of this treaty; and if it be the good pleasure of the king he may appoint some of his knights as conductors to the men at arms, and superintendants on their leaders, to prevent them and their men from delaying their march, and also from committing waste in the countries through which they shall pass.

Item, the aforesaid lords will not return near the person of the king, unless they be sent for by him, by letters patent under the great seal, confirmed by his council, or on urgent business,—nor shall any of the aforesaid lords intrigue to obtain orders for their return; and this they shall especially swear to before commissioners nominated for the purpose. The king shall make the terms of this treaty public, and all the articles they shall swear to observe.

Should the king think it necessary to send for the duke of Berry, he shall, at the same time, summon the duke of Burgundy, and *vice versa;* and this he will observe, in order that they may both meet at the same time on the appointed day, which will hold good until the ensuing Easter in the year 1411; and from that day until the following Easter in 1412, no one of the aforesaid shall proceed against another by acts of violence or by words.—Every article of this treaty to be properly drawn out and signed by the king and his council, with certain penalties to be incurred on the infringement of any of them.

Item, the king shall select certain able and discreet persons, of unblemished characters, and no way pensioners, but such as have solely given their oaths of allegiance to the king, to form the royal council; and when such persons have been chosen, a list of their names shall be shown to the princes on each side.

Item, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, having the wardship of the duke of Acquitaine, shall agree together as to the person who shall be their substitute in that office during their absence; and powers for so doing shall be sent to the duke of Berry, as he is at present without them.

Item, the provost of Paris shall be dismissed from all offices which he holds under the king, and another shall be appointed according to the king's pleasure, and as he may judge expedient.

Item, it was ordained, that no knight, or his heirs, should in future suffer any molestation because he had not obeyed the summons sent him by either of the parties; and should they be any way molested, the king would punish the offender by confiscation of his property. Letters, confirming this last article, shall be given by the king and the aforesaid lords to whoever may require them.

This treaty was concluded on All-saints day, and on the ensuing Monday confirmed; and four days after, the greater part of the articles were fulfilled. Sir John de Neele, chancellor to the duke of Acquitaine, was, by the king's command, appointed to receive the oaths of the lords on each side.

The king dismissed his provost of Paris, sir Peter des Essars, knight, from all his offices, and nominated sir Brunelet de Sainct-Cler, one of his masters of the household, to the provostship. He also sent letters, sealed with his great seal, to the duke of Berry, appointing

him to the guardianship of his son, the duke of Acquitaine.

In consequence of one of the articles above recited, twelve knights, four bishops, and four lords of the parliament, were appointed to govern the kingdom,—namely, the archbishop of Rheims, the bishops of Noyon and Saint Flour, master John de Torcy, lately one of the parliament, but now bishop of Tournay, the grand master of the king's household sir Guichart Daulphin, the grand master of Rhodes, the lords de Montenay, de Toursy, de Rambures, d'Offemont, de Rouvroy, de Rumacourt, Saquet de Toursy, le vidame d'Amiens, sir John de Toursy, knight to the duke of Berry, and grand master of his household, and the lord de St George. The two last were nominated, by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, guardians to the duke of Acquitaine during their absence.

The two parties now left Paris and the adjoining fortresses and castles; but on the following Saturday, the king was again strongly seized with his usual malady, and confined in his hôtel of St Pol. The queen and her attendants, then at Vincennes, returned to Paris with her son, the duke of Acquitaine,

and fixed their residence, with her lord, in the hôtel de St Pol.

The duke of Burgundy went to Meaux, where he was met by the king of Navarre;—and thence the duke went to Arras and Flanders, accompanied by sir Peter des Essars, late provost of Paris, and his most confidential adviser; and he always gave him the title of provost of Paris, as though he had still retained the office.

Conformably to the treaty, all the men at arms on each side returned to the places whence they had come, but plundering the poor people on their march. A number of Lombards and Gascons had formed part of the army of the duke of Orleans, who were mounted on terrible horses, that were taught to wheel round when on full gallop, which seemed very astonishing to the French, Flemings, Picards, and Brabanters, who had not been accustomed to such movements.

Because the count d'Armagnac had joined the duke of Orleans with a large body, his men were called *Armagnacs;* and in consequence, the whole of that faction were called *Armagnacs.* Although there were many princes of much higher rank in either party than the count d'Armagnac, they were not pleased if they

were not called by this name, which lasted a very considerable time.

As the treaty before mentioned had been concluded at the hôtel de Winchester, where the dukes of Berry and Orleans, with others of their party were amusing themselves, it was called 'The Peace of Winchester.'

All who had come to these meetings at Paris now departed, and those to whom the government had been intrusted remained near the person of the king and the duke of Acquitaine. The people expected, that by this means they should enjoy more peaceable times; but it happened just the contrary, as you shall shortly hear.

CHAP. XXIII.

A MEETING OF THE UNIVERSITY AND CLERGY IS HELD ON THE XXIII. OF NOVEMBER, IN THE CHURCH OF ST BERNARD AT PARIS, ON THE STATE OF THE CHURCH.

WHEN peace had been established, a large congregation was held, by order of the

university, on the 23d of November, in the church of the Bernardins in Paris,—to which were called, the bishop of Puy in Auvergne, many other prelates, and in general all bachelors and licentiates in canon and civil law, although in former times doctors only had been summoned.

This assembly was holden at the request of the archbishop of Pisa, and other legates from the pope, on the subject of tythes, the vacant benefices, and the effects of the dead. But it was opened by the adoption of a solemn ordinance, which had been ordained during the papacy of Pietro della Luna, respecting the liberties of the french church, in the year 1406, and since confirmed by the king, his great council, and the parliament, namely, that the said church shall be maintained in all its ancient privileges. It was thus freed from all tythes, procurations, and subsidies, or taxes whatever. And as the object of these legates was to establish the above impositions, it was resolved that the aforesaid ordinance should be strictly conformed to; and the more effectually to have it observed, they sent deputations to the king, to his council, and to the parliament, to whom the guard of this ordinance belonged,

to obviate the inconveniences that might follow should any article of it be infringed.

It was also concluded, that should the legates attempt, by menaces of ecclesiastical censures or otherwise, to compel payment of any tribute, an appeal should be made from them to a general council of the church.

Item, should any collectors or sub-collectors exact subsidies to the church, they shall be arrested, and punished by confiscation of property, and, when they have no property, by imprisonment.

It was also concluded, that to settle this matter, the king's attorney, and other lords, should be requested to join the university. But it was at last resolved, that should the pope plead an evident want of means to support the church, a council should be called, and a charitable subsidy granted, the which should be collected by certain discreet persons selected by the council, and the amount distributed according to the directions of the said council.

On the ensuing Monday was held a royal sessions, at which the duke of Acquitaine, the archbishop of Pisa, and the other legates from the pope, the rector and the members of the

university were present. In this meeting, the archbishop declared, that what he demanded was due to the apostolic chamber, by every right, divine, canon, civil and natural, and that it was sacred and simple justice,—adding, that whoever should deny this right was scarcely a Christian.

The university was greatly displeased, and said, that such expressions were derogatory to the king's honour, to that of the university, and consequently of the whole kingdom. From what had passed, another general assembly was holden on Sunday the 30th of November, in the place where it had been held the preceding Sunday; and it was then determined that the university should send a deputation to the king, to lay before him the words uttered by the legates, and to demand that they should be publicly recanted by them. It was proposed, that in case they should refuse so to do, the faculty of theologians should bring accusations against them, on the articles of faith, and they should be punished according to the exigence of the case. It was also resolved, that the university of Paris should write letters to all the other universities in the realm, and to the prelates and clergy, to invite

them to unite in their opposition to such tenets.

Many other things were agitated in this meeting, which I pass over for the sake of brevity. It was, however, finally concluded to send an answer to the pope, that he could not have any subsidy granted him in the way which had been proposed. The meeting came to the resolution, that the university of Paris should require from the archbishop of Rheims, and those of the members of the king's government who, as members, had given their oaths to the university, to join in the measures they had adopted, otherwise they should be expelled the university.

It should be known, that while these things were passing, the legates, fearful of the consequences, hastily left Paris, without taking leave, as is usually done. The holy father, however, sent ambassadors to the king, to demand payment of the tenth imposed on the french church. When they declared the object of their mission to the council of state, and in the presence of the duke of Acquitaine, they said, that not only was the french church bound to pay this subsidy to the pope, but all other churches which were under his obedience,

—first, from the divine law in Leviticus, which declares that all deacons shall pay to the high priest a tenth of their possessions,—and, 2dly, by natural and positive law.

Whilst these things were passing, the university came to the council, and on the morrow a congregation was held in the monastery of the Bernardins. It was then resolved that the manner of demanding this subsidy should be reprobated, for that it was iniquitous, and contrary to the decree of the king and his council in the year 1406, for the preservation of the franchises of the french church. The university insisted on this decree being preserved inviolate, and declared, that if the pope or his legates attempted to constrain any person to pay this subsidy by censures of the church, it would appeal to a general council on this subject. Should any of the new ministers attempt any thing against this decree, the university would appeal to the king and the whole council of state; and should any members of the university urge the payment of this tenth, they should be expelled; and if any persons, guilty of the above offence, should have any property of their own, the university

would require that the said property should be confiscated to the king's use, otherwise they should be imprisoned.

Should the holy father adopt the manner of raising this subsidy by way of charity, it would be agreeable to the university that the king should call together the prelates of his realm,—first, to consider what subjects should be discussed in the general council of the church to be holden on this occasion; secondly, to deliberate on the demands made by the ambassadors respecting the tenth. Should it be determined for the pope to receive this subsidy, the university expressed its wish that some sufficient person should be deputed from this kingdom to receive the amount of the same, for the peace and union of the greek and latin churches, and from England for aid of the holy land, and the preaching the gospel to all the world; for such were the purposes for which the legates declared the holy father raised this subsidy. The university solicited the members of the parliament to unite themselves with them, for it was in support of their decree made on the demand of the king's attorney-general.

Juvenal des Ursins * was deputed by the university to reply to what the pope's ambassadors had advanced before the council; but at length the archbishop of Pisa, perceiving he could not otherwise gain his object, humbled himself much before the university, and spoke privately to some of the principal members to prevail on them to assist him. However, on the 28th day of January, it was declared, that no subsidy whatever should be granted to the pope without the previous consent of the french church; and the deliberation on this matter was deferred to the 10th of February, when many prelates were summoned to give their opinions thereon. Through the active diligence of the university, the legates could not obtain consent that a subsidy in any shape should be granted to the pope, although the greater part

* I hardly know whether this can be the celebrated archbishop of Rheims, and historian of the reign of Charles VI. who was one of the most learned men of his time, and died at an advanced age, in 1474. He had two brothers older than himself, William des Ursins, baron of Treynel, chancellor of France in 1445, and again in 1464,—and James Juvenal des Ursins, who was archbishop of Rheims before him. The history written by Juvenal des Ursins occupies the space from 1380 to 1422, and throws great light, by comparison, on Froissart and Monstrelet.

of the lords, and in particular the princes, were were very agreeable to it.

While these matters were transacting at Paris, the holy father sent letters to the king of France and to the university, to say that the Florentines refused any longer to obey him, from fear of king Ladislaus; that this king Ladislaus was assembling an immense army, as the pope wrote word, to conquer Rome and the adjacent country, that he might place in the chair of St Peter a pope according to his pleasure. Should this happen, a more ruinous schism might befal the church than the former one,—to obviate which, he requested from the king, the princes, and university, aid and support. This was, through the intercession of the archbishop of Pisa, complied with, and in the manner that shall be hereafter related.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE LORD DE CROY IS MADE PRISONER WHEN GOING ON AN EMBASSY FROM THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY TO THE DUKE OF BERRY, TO THE GREAT DISPLEASURE OF THE LATTER.

THE duke of Burgundy, shortly after he had left Paris, sent three of his counsellors, namely, the lords de Croy and de Dours, knights, and master Raoul, head canon of Tournay and of Amiens, licentiate of law, as ambassadors to the king at Paris, and to his uncle and godfather, the duke of Berry, at Bourges. But when they were travelling between Orleans and Bourges, the lord de Croy was arrested by the officers of the duke of Orleans on the last day but one of January, without any molestation being given to the other two ambassadors or their attendants.

He was carried to a castle within three leagues of Blois, and, on the morrow, strictly interrogated respecting the murder of the late duke of Orleans, and put to the torture to confess if he had been any way consenting to

it, or an accomplice in it; but they could not discover any thing to his prejudice. On the following Sunday, he was carried to Blois, and confined in the dungeons of a prison.

The other ambassadors continued their route to Bourges, where, having explained to the duke of Berry the object of their mission, they humbly entreated that he would exert himself with the duke of Orleans that the lord de Croy might obtain his liberty. When they related to him the manner of the lord de Croy being arrested, the duke was filled with indignation, and instantly sent letters signed with his hand to the duke of Orleans, to say that he must immediately give up his prisoner, whom he had illegally arrested when coming to him; and that if he did not do it, he would have him for his enemy.

The duke of Orleans, on the receipt of this letter, considered it well, and replied at length most courteously to the duke of Berry, excusing himself for what he had done, but putting off the setting the lord de Croy at liberty. The king and the duke of Acquitaine were soon made acquainted with this arrest,—and they sent letters to the duke of Orleans, commanding him instantly to deliver the lord

de Croy from his imprisonment, on pain of incurring their indignation.

Notwithstanding these letters, the duke of Orleans would not give him his liberty, but kept him in close confinement, where he was very often most rigorously treated, and at times examined and put to the torture.

In the mean time, the other ambassadors sent messengers to the duke of Burgundy, to notify to him this conduct and the means they had taken in vain for the deliverance of the lord de Croy.

The duke was much surprised and vexed at this news, for he greatly loved the lord de Croy. Having considered this insult, and others that had been offered to his friends, he thought it time to take effectual measures for his security, and in consequence amassed as large a sum as he could: to this end, he sold his right to all confiscations within the town of Ghent to the townsmen, and yielded for money several other privileges to the Flemings. He likewise carried his son, the count de Charolois, to show him to many of the principal towns as their future lord, who, on this occasion, made him considerable presents. He afterward held a grand council on his

affairs, in the town of Tournay, which was attended by his brothers-in-law duke William and the bishop of Liege. The count de Namur was also present, and several great lords from the borders of the empire. The duke of Burgundy solicited their aid against his enemies, should need be, and in particular against the duke of Orleans, his brothers and allies. This service they offered him liberally, to the utmost of their power. Having obtained their promises, he went to Lille, whither the marshal Boucicaut, late governor of Genoa, came to meet him. He received him very kindly, and carried him with him to his town of Arras, whither he had convoked all the lords and nobles of the county of Artois and its dependancies.

When they were assembled in the great hall of his residence, he addressed them himself, and caused them to be harangued by master William Bouvier, knight, licentiate of law, to explain how his enemies were plotting daily to arrest and imprison his friends, and had actually arrested and imprisoned the lord de Croy; for which cause he had now assembled them, to request that they would remain loyal, and that, should there be a necessity, they would enter

into his pay and serve him,—for they might be assured it would be solely in his own defence, and for that of the king and the duke of Acquitaine, that he would ever take up arms. He declared, that it was merely for the preservation of the crown to his present majesty, and to his heirs, that he had slain the duke of Orleans, father to the present duke. This death had been lately pardoned, and peace established by the king in the town of Chartres, and proclaimed by letters patent. He added, that should any of the conditions of that treaty of Chartres be unaccomplished by him, he was ready to fulfil them, and willing to do any thing else that would afford satisfaction.

When he had concluded his speeeh, the nobles and knights present unanimously replied, that they would serve him to the utmost of their power. The meeting then broke up, and each man returned to his own country and home.

The marshal Boucicaut went to Paris, and in full council, presided by the duke of Acquitaine in the place of his father, he accused the Genoese of various crimes, and exculpated himself for having lost that town; and ended by entreating, that he might be

sufficiently supplied with men and money to offer them battle and regain it.

The council deferred giving an answer at the moment, but appointed a day for him to receive it. In the mean time, Boucicaut waited on all the principal lords, to interest them in his cause, and to beg that they would press the king and council to hasten a compliance with his request. It was ordered by the council, conjunctively with the three estates, that the Genoese should be summoned to appear before them at Paris, at the feast of Easter, when many of the nobles would be there assembled on other weighty affairs, particularly to have their consent that the duke of Acquitaine should be appointed regent of the kingdom, for the Parisians were extremely pressing that this should be done.

The duke of Berry, however, was much displeased when he heard of it, and, to prevent it, wrote urgent letters to the duke of Acquitaine, to the queen, and to the great council, giving substantial reasons why this could not and ought not to be done, considering how very young the duke of Acquitaine was,—adding, that he and his brother Philip duke of Burgundy, of good memory, had sworn on

the holy sacrament that they would support and defend, to their last drop of blood, their nephew, the king now on the throne, against all who should attempt any thing to his dishonour or disadvantage.

While these things were in agitation, the king recovered his health,—and of course, the duke of Acquitaine was not regent, to the great satisfaction of the duke of Berry, who was much rejoiced thereat.

In consequence of the quarrel that had now again broken out between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, the king issued a proclamation to all the bailiwicks, provostships, seneschalships and governments in his realm, to forbid all nobles, of whatever rank they might be, and every other person, to obey the summons or join in arms either of the above dukes, under pain of their property being confiscated.

On the Wednesday of the holy week, the duke of Bourbon and the count de Vertus, brother to the duke of Orleans, marched five hundred men at arms to Clermont in Beauvoisis, and thence invaded Normandy. The count de Vertus did not remain long there, but, taking a part of the men at arms, left the duke of Bourbon, and hastened to the countries of

the Soissonnois and Valois, to the territory of Coucy, which belonged to his brother, and there placed a good garrison.

True it is, that when the duke of Burgundy heard this, he was much troubled, and, as speedily as he could, ordered his men at arms to meet him at Château-Cambresis the last day but one of April. But when these transactions came to the knowledge of the king and council, he sent able ambassadors to each of these dukes, to forbid them, under pain of having all their lands confiscated, and being declared enemies to their king and country, to attempt any expeditions against each other, and commanded them instantly to disband their forces. For this time they very humbly obeyed his orders, and deferred proceeding further for a considerable space.

[A. D. 1411.]

CHAP. XXV.

THE DUKE OF ORLEANS SENDS AMBASSADORS TO THE KING OF FRANCE, WITH LETTERS OF ACCUSATION AGAINST THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND THOSE OF HIS PARTY.

At the commencement of this year, the duke of Orleans was displeased that those ministers who had been nominated by the duke of Burgundy had greater influence than any of the others, and that they daily deprived such as had been attached to the late duke of Orleans, and were now his friends, of their offices. In consequence, he sent ambassadors to the king to complain of this conduct, and to require that the murderers of his father should be punished conformably to the articles of the treaty, but who were now residents within the kingdom. To these ambassadors promises were made, on the part of the king, that proper remedies should be applied to give them satisfaction.

On their departure, the king sent to his uncle, the duke of Berry, at Bourges, to require that he would interfere between his two nephews of Orleans and Burgundy, and make peace between them, which he engaged to do; and in consequence, he sent his chancellor, the archbishop of Bourges, to Paris, well instructed by the duke how he was to act.

Shortly after, this chancellor, the marshal Boucicaut, with others, were dispatched to the duke of Burgundy, then at St Omer, who, having heard all they had to say, replied, that it was no fault of his, nor should it ever be so, that any articles of the late treaties were infringed; for that in this, and in every thing else, he was very desirous of obeying the king. And this his answer they laid before the king and council.

But as the proceedings against the murderers of the late duke of Orleans did not seem to his son, and his advisers, to be carried on with sufficient vigour, he wrote letters, signed with his own hand, to complain of this and other matters to the king, the contents of which were as follows:

'Most redoubted lord, after offering my humble recommendation,—lately, very redoubted lord, two of your counsellors came to me, namely, sir Collart de Charleville, knight, and sir Simon de Nanterre, president of your parliament, whom you had been pleased to send me to signify and explain your good will and pleasure touching certain points, which they have clearly and distinctly declared, according to the terms of their commission.

'First, they require and entreat of me, in your name, who may command me as your loyal subject and humble servant, that I should submit the quarrel that subsists between me and the duke of Burgundy, for the inhuman and cruel murder of my very redoubted lord and father, and your own brother, on whose soul may God have mercy! to my lady the queen, and to my lord and uncle the duke of Berry, who has been in like manner solicited by your ambassadors to labour diligently to establish a firm peace, for the general good of the kingdom.

'They have informed me, that you have also made a similar proposal to the duke of Burgundy,—and that, to effectuate so desirable an object as peace, I should send four of my

friends to my said uncle of Berry, who will there meet the same number from the duke of Burgundy.

'The second point mentioned by them is, that you entreat I would desist from assembling men at arms.

'Thirdly, that I would accept of letters from you similar to those which had been formerly sent me at my request, respecting the murderers, and their accomplices, of my late father and your brother.

'Having very maturely weighed and considered the above points, I reply, that I most humbly thank you, very redoubted lord, for your grace and kindness in thus sending to me; and I can assure you, that I have no greater pleasure than in hearing often from you, and of your noble state; that I was, and am always ready to serve and obey you in body and fortune, to the utmost extent of my own and my subjects' abilities.

'But as the matters which they have mentioned to me in your name are of very high consideration and importance, concerning yourself and your noble state, and as I shall ever be most anxious to show my ready obedience to your will, I was unable at the

moment to make them any reply, excepting that I would send you an answer as speedily as I could. This I have hitherto deferred, for I know you have near your person, and in your council, several of my bitter enemies, whom you ought to regard as yours also, and to whom I am unwilling that my answer, or my future intentions, should be made known: neither is it right they should be made acquainted with what concerns me, or have the opportunity of giving their opinions in council, or elsewhere, relative thereto.

'I therefore assure you, most redoubted lord, in the fullest manner, that I am your humble son and nephew, ready at all times to obey you as my sovereign lord, and most heartily anxious to honour and exalt to the utmost of my power your crown and dignity, as well as that of the queen, the duke of Acquitaine, and all your other children and kingdom, and to advise you most loyally and faithfully, without ever concealing any thing from you that may tend to the glory of your crown, or to the welfare of your realm.

'I have some time hesitated to denounce to you such of my enemies, and yours also, as are in your council and service, namely, the

bishop of Tournay, the vidame d'Amiens, John de Neelles*, the lord de Heilly, Charles de Savoisy, Anthony des Essars, John de Courcelles, Peter de Fontenay and Maurice de Railly, who, by force or underhand means, are capable of doing me great mischief, insomuch that they have dismissed certain very able men from their offices, who were your trusty servants, and have done them very great and irreparable damages: they are guilty also of insinuating very many falsehoods, to keep myself and others, your relations and faithful servants, at a distance from you, by which, and other means equally dishonourable and iniquitous, long followed by them and their adherents, have they troubled the peace of the kingdom: nor is it very probable that so long as such persons shall remain in power, and in your service, any firm or lasting peace can be established; for they will always prevent you from doing justice to myself or to others,

* Q. De Nesle?

Guy III. de Nesle, lord of Offemont and Mello, was grand master of the household to queen Isabella, and was killed at Agincourt. His two sons, *John* III. and Guy IV. followed him in succession. He had a third son, who died with him at Agincourt.

which ought indifferently to be done to all,—to the poor as well as to the rich.

'This conduct they pursue, because they know themselves guilty of many crimes, and especially John de Neelles and the lord de Heilly, who were accomplices in the murder of my late honoured father, and your only brother, under the protection of the duke of Burgundy, the principal in this crime. They are his sworn servants and pensioners, or allies to the said duke, whence they may be reputed actors and accomplices in this base and cowardly assassination. These accomplices, most redoubted lord, appear daily in your presence, and you ought to consider their crimes in the same light as if done personally against you, for indeed your authority was set at nought.

'That I may now say all that I know, I am satisfied, that had not the course of your justice been checked by the aforesaid persons and their accomplices, ample justice would have been done for the death of my lord and father, and your brother, with the aid of your officers and loyal subjects, as I know for certain that they were well inclined to it.

'For this I am very thankful; and I most earnestly pray you, for your own honour, for that of the queen and of the duke of Acquitaine, as well as for the honour of your kingdom, that you would do good and fair justice, by causing these guilty persons to be arrested and punished, since they are equally your enemies as mine,—and that you would not longer admit to your presence and councils the partisans of the duke of Burgundy, but select in their places good, loyal, and able men, such as may be found in abundance in your kingdom.

'When these things shall be done, I will then, under God's pleasure, send you such answer, that you may clearly know my inmost thoughts, and which shall prove satisfactory to God, to yourself, and to the world. For the love of God, I pray you, my most redoubted lord, do not neglect doing this; otherwise I see plainly, that whatever supplications or requests I make to you will never be attended to, although they be conformable to reason and justice, and that you will be prevented from acting in the manner you have proposed, through your ambassadors to me, nor shall I

be able to do what they have required from me on your part.

'Therefore, my most redoubted lord, I beg you will not disappoint me; for what I have required is but just and reasonable, as will be apparent to any one. My very dear lord, may it please you to order me according to your good pleasure, and, with the will of God, I will obey you faithfully in all things.'

When the duke of Orleans had sent this letter to the king, he wrote others of the like tenour to the chancellor of France, and to such of the ministers as he knew were favourable to him, to entreat that they would earnestly exert themselves in pressing the king, queen, and duke of Acquitaine, to dismiss those of the council who governed under the name of the duke of Burgundy, and whose names have been already noticed,—and that he might obtain justice on the murderers of his late father. Notwithstanding the many attempts he made by repeated letters to the king and to others, he could not at that time, through the interposition before mentioned, obtain any answer which was satisfactory.

CHAP. XXVI.

THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BAR.—THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS AN EMBASSY TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY,—AND OTHER MATTERS.

In this year died that valiant and wise man Henry duke of Bar, and was succeeded by his eldest son Edward, marquis du Pont, in the duchy of Bar and castlewick of Cassel, excepting a part which he had bequeathed as an inheritance, after his decease, to Robert de Bar, son to the deceased Henry de Bar, his eldest son, and to the lady de Coucy, namely, Varneston, Bourbourg, Dunkirk and Rhodes*.

* Monstrelet apparently mistakes. According to Moreri, *Robert* duke of Bar died this year, leaving issue by his wife Mary (daughter to John king of France),

1. Henry lord d'Ossy, who died in Hungary, 1396, leaving by his wife Mary de Coucy, countess of Soissons, one son, Robert count of Marle and Soissons, killed at Agincourt.

2. Philip, died in Hungary 1396.

3. Edward III. marquis du Pont, and duke of Bar after his father's death.

4. Louis cardinal of Bar.

5. Charles lord of Nogent.

6. John lord of Puisaye. (Both Edward and John were killed at Agincourt.)

In consequence of his death, Edward was styled Duke of Bar, and began his reign prosperously.

At this period, the king of France sent ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy, who, beside what they delivered to him in speech, gave him the letters which the duke of Orleans had written to the king, containing his charges against him and his accomplices. He was much displeased at this conduct, and made reply by these ambassadors, that the charges brought against him by the duke of Orleans were untrue. When he had received the ambassadors with every honour, he took leave of them, and went to his county of Flanders;

7. Yoland, queen of Arragon.
8. Mary, countess of Namur.
9. Bona, countess of St Pol.

One striking peculiarity is discernible in this table, viz. the preference shown in the succession to Edward the third son, over Robert, son of the eldest son of the deceased duke: but this was according to the law of many feudal tenures, which took no notice of our universally-established doctrine of *representation* in descents. The same law prevailed in Artois, and was the ground of that famous decision by which Robert d'Artois was ejected in the middle of the fourteenth century, and in consequence of which he retired in disgust to the court of our Edward III. who asserted the justice of his pretensions.

and they returned to Paris without any satisfactory answer to the matters concerning which they had been sent.

It was not long before the duke of Burgundy raised a large body of men at arms, whom he sent into the Cambresis, and toward St Quentin; but immediately after, by orders from the king and council, he dismissed them to the places whence they had come.

On the 15th day of July, master John Petit, doctor of divinity, whom the duke of Orleans had intended to prosecute, before the university of Paris, for heresy, died in the town of Hesdin, in the hôtel of the hospital which the duke of Burgundy had given him, beside large pensions, and was buried in the church of the Friars Minors in the town of Hesdin.

At this time, a tax was laid on the clergy of France and of Dauphiny, of half a tenth, by the pope, with the consent of the king, the princes, and the university of Paris, and the greater part of the prelates and cities, to be paid by two instalments; the first on Magdalen day, and the second at Whitsuntide following. It was so rigorously collected that the poorer clergy complained bitterly.

During this transaction, and while the duke of Burgundy was resident in his town of Bruges, on Saturday the 10th of July, sir Amé de Sarrebrusse, sir Clugnet de Brabant, and other captains of the duke of Orleans, came, with a numerous body of men at arms, before Coucy, in the Vermandois, and Ham sur Somme.

News of this was soon carried to the duke of Burgundy, who, suspecting they intended to invade and make war on his territories, gave commissions to several of his captains, namely, the lord de Heilly, Enguerrand de Bournouville, the lord de Ront, and some others, to march a body of men at arms towards Bapaume and Ham, to oppose the Armagnacs, should they attempt to penetrate further into the country.

During this time, the duke of Orleans and his brothers continued their solicitations for justice, and again sent letters to the king, princes, cities, and prelates, to engage them to unite with them in obtaining the object of their petitions. The tenour of the letter they wrote to the king is as follows.

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CHAP. XXVII.

THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND HIS BROTHERS SEND LETTERS TO THE KING OF FRANCE, TO OTHER LORDS, AND TO SEVERAL OF THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS IN FRANCE, TO COMPLAIN OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

'MOST redoubted and sovereign lord,—we Charles duke of Orleans, Philip count de Vertus, and John count of Angoulême, brothers, your very humble children and nephews, have, with all due humiliation and submission, considered it right to lay before you, jointly and separately, what follows.

'Although the barbarous and cruel murder of our redoubted lord and very dear father, your brother, must for certain be most strongly impressed on your royal memory, and engraven on your heart,—nevertheless, most redoubted lord, our grief and the sense of what is due to us from all laws, human and divine, force us to renew in your memory all the minute transactions of that inhuman event.

'It is a fact, most dear lord, that John, who styles himself duke of Burgundy, through a hatred he had long nourished in his breast, and from an insatiate ambition and a desire of governing your realm, and that he might have the office of regent, as he has clearly shown and daily continues to show, did, on the 14th day of November in the year 1407, most treacherously murder your brother, our most renowned lord and father, in the streets of Paris, and during the night, by causing him to be waylaid by a set of infamous wretches, hired for this purpose, without having previously testified any displeasure towards him. This is well known to all the world; for it has been publicly avowed by the traitorous murderer himself, who is more disloyal, cruel, and inhuman than you can imagine; and we do not believe you can find in any writings one of a more perverse or faithless character.

'In the first place, they were so nearly connected by blood, being cousins-german, the children of two brothers, that it adds to his crime of murder that of parricide; and the laws cannot too severely punish so detestable an action. They were also brothers in arms, having twice or thrice renewed this confederation

under their own hands and seals, and solemnly sworn on the holy sacrament, in the presence of very many prelates and nobles, that they would be true and loyal friends,—that they would not do any thing to the prejudice of each other, either openly or secretly, nor suffer any such like thing to be done by others.

'They, besides, entered into various protestations of love and friendship, making the most solemn promises to continue true brothers in arms, as is usual in such cases, to demonstrate that they felt a perfect friendship for each other; and as a confirmation of their affection, they mutually wore each other's colours and badges.

'Secondly, he proved the perverseness of his heart by the manner in which this murder was committed. Under cover of his pretended affection for your aforesaid brother, he conversed frequently with him; and once when he was ill, a short time before his death, he visited him at his house of Beauté sur Marne, and in Paris, showing him every sign of love and friendship that brother, cousin, or friend could testify,—when, at the same time, he had plotted his death, had sent for the murderers to Paris, and had even hired the house to

hide them in, which clearly demonstrates the wickedness and disloyalty of his heart.

'In addition to what I have just stated, and the very day before the murder took place, after the council which you had held at the hôtel de St Pol was broken up, they both, in your presence and before the other princes of the blood who were there, drank wine and ate together; and your brother invited him to dine with him the Sunday following. The duke of Burgundy accepted the invitation, although he knew what a diabolical attempt he harboured in his heart, and that it would be put into effect the very first favourable opportunity. This is an abomination disgraceful even to relate.

'On the morrow, therefore, notwithstanding all his fair promises and oaths, being obstinately bent upon his wicked purpose, he caused him to be put to death with more cruelty than ever man of any rank suffered, by those whom he had hired to waylay and murder him, and who had, for a long time, been watching their opportunity. They first cut off his right hand, which was found the next day in the dirt: they then cut his left arm so that it held only by the skin, and, beside, fractured and laid open his

skull in several places that his brains were scattered in the street; and they then dragged his body through the mud, until it was quite lifeless.

'It would be pitiful to hear of such barbarous conduct towards the meanest subject: how much the more horror must the recital cause, when it was practised on the first prince of the blood of France! Never was any branch of your noble race so cruelly and infamously treated,—and you and all of your blood, and such of your subjects as wish you well, ought not to suffer such a lamentable deed to be perpetrated without any punishment or reparation whatever, as is the case till this present time, which is the most shameful thing that ever happened, or ever could happen, to so noble a house; and additional disgrace will fall upon it, if you any longer delay justice.

'Thirdly, he shows his perverseness and obstinacy by false and damnable hypocrisy; for after the horrid deed had been done, he came with the other princes dressed in black, to attend the body, pretending the utmost grief at the funeral for the loss of his brother in arms, thinking by this means to cover the

wickedness of his sin. It would be tiresome to relate all the damnable and hypocritical arts he employed to hide the treacherous and murderous part he had acted, until he perceived that his crime must be brought to light by the diligence of your officers of justice.

'He then, and then only, confessed to the king of Sicily, and to the duke of Berry, that he had perpetrated this murder, or at least had caused it to be committed; and that the devil had tempted him to do it, for that in truth he could not assign any other cause for having so done. But he was not contented with murdering his body: he wanted again, so great is his iniquity, to murder his fame and fair reputation by false and wicked accusations, when he was no more able to defend himself against them. The falsehood of these charges, through the grace of God, is notorious to you and to the whole world.

'My late most redoubted lady-mother, whose soul may God receive! suffered the utmost tribulation, not only for the death of her much-beloved lord and husband, but also for the inhuman and cruel manner of it; and like one in despair, attended by me, John of

Angoulême, she waited on you, as her king and sovereign lord, and her sole refuge in this her distress, and most humbly supplicated that you would, out of your benign goodness, have compassion on her and her children, and would order such prompt and just judgment to be executed on the perpetrators of this murder as the blackness of the case required; and as you are bound in your quality of king to administer strict justice to all your subjects without delay, as well to the poor as to the rich, so rather the more promptly ought you to exercise it in favour of the poor and deserted than for the rich and powerful; for this upright administration of justice is a great virtue, and on this account were kings chiefly appointed, and power intrusted to their hands. The case that was then and is now again brought before you requires the most speedy justice; for it not only concerns you as king, but affects you more sensibly and personally,—for her husband, our much regretted lord, who was so treacherously slain, was your only brother, and, consequently, strict justice ought to have been granted to her, and done on the murderers.

'You did indeed appoint a day for doing her this justice; on which account, she

constantly employed her agents near your person, to remind you thereof: she waited long after the appointed day had elapsed for the judgment which you had promised her,—and, notwithstanding all her diligence and exertions, she met with nothing but delays, caused by the means of the aforesaid traitor, his friends and adherents, as shall be more fully explained hereafter.

'However, most redoubted lord, I know for certain, that your inclinations were very willing to do us justice, and that they still remain the same. Our most afflicted mother, attended by me Charles of Orleans, again returned; and we renewed our request to have judgment executed on the assassins of our late lord and father. We also caused to be most fully detailed before my lord of Acquitaine, your eldest son, and by you commissioned as your lieutenant on this occasion, and before the queen, every circumstance relative to the murder, and the infamous charges urged by way of exculpation by the murderer, and the causes why he had committed this atrocious crime. We, at the same time, fully replied to what had been argued in his defence; and after this, our lady-mother caused conclusions to be

drawn against the aforesaid traitor, according to the usual customs of your reign, and required that your attorney should join with her in the further prosecution of the criminals, so that they might be brought to justice.

'When this was done, our very redoubted lord the duke of Acquitaine, by the advice of the princes of your blood and divers others of your council, then present at the Louvre, made answer to our lady-mother, that, as your lieutenant, he and the princes of the blood, and the members of your council, were satisfied, and pleased with the justifications offered by our lady-mother in behalf of your brother, our much redoubted father, whose soul may God pardon! and that they considered him as fully innocent of the charges brought against him, and added, that substantial justice should be done to her satisfaction.

'Notwithstanding all these promises, there was much delay in their execution, insomuch that she frequently renewed her solicitations to you, the princes of your blood, and to your council, and used various other means to obtain justice, the recital of which would tire you: nevertheless, she could never gain the assistance of your attorney-general

in prosecuting the aforesaid criminals to judgment, which circumstance is lamentable to think on.

'For the aforesaid traitor, well knowing your inclination to execute justice, knowing also that his crime could by no means be justified, in order to prevent matters being pushed to extremity, (notwithstanding your positive orders to him, to forbid his appearing at Paris, with any body of men at arms) came thither with a powerful force, composed of foreigners, and several who had been banished your realm, who did great mischief to the countries through which they passed, as is notorious to every one.

'Your and our lady the queen, with the duke of Acquitaine, your son and heir, and the princes of the blood, were forced to quit your capital before he arrived there. He remained, therefore, in your town of Paris lord paramount, and conducted himself in a tyrannical manner, subversive of your dominion, and contrary to the interests of the people. To avoid greater inconveniences and oppressions on your subjects from him and his men at arms, it was judged expedient that you, the royal family and council of state should, according to his good pleasure,

come to Chartres, and there grant him whatever he should ask. Thus he thought he should be acquitted of all the traitorous acts and murders which he had committed, by trampling your justice under his feet. Consequently he refuses to suffer any of your officers to take cognizance of his crimes, and has not condescended to humiliate himself before you, whom he has troubled and offended more than can be told. He is not, therefore, capable of receiving any grace by law or reason; nor worthy of being admitted to your presence, and having any favours shown to him or to his dependants and friends. He should have presented himself before you in all humility and contrition for his offences; whereas he has done precisely the contrary, and has so obstinately persisted in his wickedness that he has had the boldness to avow to yourself publicly, and before so great an assembly as met at Chartres, that he put your only brother to death for your welfare and that of the state.

'He wishes also to maintain, that you told him you were not displeased that it had been done. This has shocked every loyal ear that has heard it, and will shock still more the generations to come, who shall read and learn

that a king of France (the greatest monarch in Christendom) should not have been displeased at the most inhuman and traitorous murder of his only brother.

'This is so manifestly treason of the deepest die against your own honour, and that of your crown and kingdom, that scarcely any punishments ordered by law and justice are capable of making reparation for it. It is also greatly prejudicial to the far-famed justice of your courts of law.

'Notwithstanding the excuses which he made to you, that the murder of your brother had been committed for your personal security, and the good of your kingdom, it is notorious, that it had been plotted a very long time, through his immeasurable ambition of obtaining the government of your realm, as I have before stated. He has declared to several of his dependants and officers, that there never before was committed in this country so base a murder; and yet, in his defence, he says it was done for the public good, and for your personal safety.

'It is therefore very clear, according to law and equity, that every thing done at Chartres on that day is null and void; and what perhaps is as deserving of punishment as

the commission of the crime itself is, that he never deigned to pay you any honour, respect, or condolence for such a loss as that of your brother, nor ever once solicited pardon, or any remission for his offence whatever. And he wishes to maintain, that without confessing his guilt, and without demanding pardon, you have remitted all further proceedings against him, which is contrary to all equity and written laws,—a mere illusion, or rather a derision of justice, namely, thus to leave a murderer, without taking any cognizance of his crime, without penitence or contrition, and to prosecute no inquiry into his conduct, and, what is worse, when such a criminal obstinately perseveres in his wickedness, even in the presence of his sovereign lord. On that same day, however, he fell into a manifest and apparent contradiction; for he says that he has done well, and consequently he assumes to himself merit, and requires remuneration,—and, nevertheless, he pretends to say that you have given him pardon and remission, which circumstance implies not good deeds and merit, but a crime and offence.

'He has never offered any prayers for the salvation of the soul of the deceased, nor any

remuneration to those who have suffered from the loss caused by him; and this you ought not, and cannot in any manner pardon.

'Thus it clearly appears, that what was done at Chartres was contrary to every principle of law, equity, reason and justice; whence it again follows, that from this, and other causes too long to be detailed, all the proceedings at Chartres are null and of no effect. Should any one maintain, that the treaty made at Chartres is good and binding, it may very easily be shown, that this aforesaid traitor has infringed the articles of it in various ways, and has been the first to violate it.

'Although you had ordered, that henceforth he should in no way act to our prejudice, and although he had sworn to observe it,—nevertheless he did directly the contrary; for, thinking to damn the good fame of our very redoubted lord and father, he caused your grand master of the household, whose soul may God receive! to be arrested, thrown into close imprisonment, and inhumanly tortured, so that his limbs were broken, and made him suffer other martyrdom that he might, through the severity of torture, force him to confess that our ever-to-be-regretted

lord and father, and your only brother, whose soul may God pardon! was guilty of some of the charges which he had falsely brought against him, so that his crimes might be excused, and that he might for ever destroy the honour of our family.

'He had the grand master carried to the place of execution, who there, when death was before his eyes, declared, on the damnation of his soul if he told a falsehood, that he had never in his life seen any thing treasonable in the conduct of the late duke of Orleans, or any thing that tended to the hurt of any individual,—but that he had always most loyally served you: and should he have said any thing to the contrary when under torture, it must have been his sufferings that forced him to utter what he thought would please his tormentors. What he now said was the real truth, and he uttered it on the peril of damnation; and this he persevered in to the moment of his execution, in the hearing of many knights and other respectable persons.

'This plainly demonstrates, that the duke of Burgundy's conduct was precisely the reverse to what he had sworn to observe when at Chartres.

'He has received into his hôtel and supported, and continues daily so to do, the murderers who slew your brother, although they were especially excepted out of the treaty concluded at Chartres. He likewise, as is notorious, troubles the officers and servants of our late lord and father, who now appertain to us, and dismisses them from all the employments which they held under your government, without any other cause whatever but his hatred to us and to our house, and to those servants who are attached to us. He even attempted not only to ruin them in their fortunes, but to take away their lives by means too tedious to relate; but the facts are notorious.

'The traitor, therefore, sensible of the horror of his criminal cruelty, and that he could not by any means palliate it, has usurped the government of your kingdom (for the sole cause of his murdering your brother was his unbounded ambition),—and, by so doing, effectually prevents your officers of justice from taking cognizance of his crimes, and likewise creates infinite grief to all your loyal subjects and wellwishers.

'He detains your royal person, as well as that of my lord the duke of Acquitaine, in such subjection that no one, however high his rank, can have access to you, whatever may be his business, without first having obtained permission from those whom he has placed around you, and has thus driven from you and your family several faithful and valiant servants long attached to you, and filled their places with his own creatures, and in great part with foreigners and persons unknown to you. In like manner, he has acted toward my lord of Acquitaine.

'He has also displaced your officers,—in particular, such as held the principal posts in your realm; and as for your finances, he has lavished them here and there according to his will and pleasure, but greatly to his own advantage, and not at all for the good of yourself, or for the relief of your people, which has caused much discontent against you. The underlings in office he has sorely vexed, under feigned pretences of justice, and has robbed them of their fortunes, which he has applied to his own proper use, as is well known throughout Paris and elsewhere.

'In short, he has introduced such a licentiousness of manners into the kingdom that all sorts of crimes are committed, without inquiry or punishment following them; and thus, from default or neglect of justice being done on this enormous and detestable murderer, many other murders have been committed with impunity in different parts of the realm, since the melancholy death of our much-regretted lord and father, murderers and other criminals saying, 'Our crimes will be passed over, since no notice has been taken of him who slew the king's brother.'

'On this account, most redoubted lord, my lord of Berry your uncle, the duke of Bourbon, the count d'Alençon, the counts de Clermont and d'Armagnac, and I Charles of Orleans, wishing to testify our loyalty to you, as we are bound by parentage, and being your very humble subjects, had intended coming to you last year to lay before you the damnable government of your kingdom, and to remonstrate, that should it continue longer, it must end in the destruction of yourself, your family, and your realm.

'In order, therefore, that you may hear us as well as such as may maintain the

contrary, let there be chosen a sufficient number of discreet men to examine into the grievances we complain of; and let a remedy be applied to them, providing first for the security of your royal person, and for that of my lord of Acquitaine. This was more fully explained in the proclamations issued previously to our coming to Paris, when, for our personal safety, we were accompanied by our friends and vassals, all of them your subjects; and our only object in thus coming was the welfare of yourself and your kingdom.

'We offered to wait on you with very few attendants, but we could never obtain access to you, nor have a single audience, through the obstructions of this traitor, who was alway by your side; and he alone prevented the goodness of our intentions being made known to you, from his persevering ambition and his boundless desire of seizing the government of yourself and realm.

'We, therefore, finding all hopes of seeing you fruitless, in consequence of agreements concluded with your council, returned home; but to avoid, if possible, the destruction of your country, we must again confederate.—We faithfully observed all the articles of the

agreement; but we were no sooner at a distance than our enemy violated them in the most essential part. It had been settled that your new ministry should be composed of men of unblemished characters, who were not partisans or servants, or pensioners to either side; but he has kept those that were attached to him in power, so that he has now a majority in the council, and consequently rules more despotically and more securely than when he held the reins of government in his own hand.

'These grievances are increasing, and will increase, unless God shall direct your mind to provide a remedy to them.

'Pierre des Essars, who had been provost of your good town of Paris, and minister of finance, was to be deprived of these offices, and of every employment he held under your name. This was done for a short time,—but he has since obtained for him, by letters sealed with your great seal, a re-appointment to the provostship, under pretence of which the said Pierre des Essars has returned to Paris, and has attempted by force to execute the duties of that office. He came, in fact, to the court of the Châtelet, seated himself on the judgment seat, and took possession of his office with

the knowledge and connivance of the duke of Burgundy,—and it was not his fault, if he failed in success.

'Hence it appears plainly, that the late arrangements have been by him, and those of his party, violated; and that he never had any real intentions of keeping the treaty is clear from his having consented to the dismission of Pierre des Essars, and then secretly procuring his restitution. It was also stipulated in this treaty, that all who had been deprived of their offices for having been in the company of me, Charles d'Orleans, and the other lords, at the hôtel of Winchester, should be restored to them; and that, by your orders, and those of your council, sir John de Charencieres was to be replaced in his government of your town and castle of Caen,—nevertheless, the duke of Burgundy, in opposition to these your orders, had him displaced, and solicited the appointment for himself, from hatred to sir John de Charencieres, and, having obtained it, now holds it, which is another infringement of the treaty.

'Notwithstanding, most redoubted lord and sovereign, all the diligence and exertions made by our much-loved mother, whose soul

may God pardon! to obtain justice on the murderers of our late very dear father, four years have now elapsed without any judgment being passed on such enormous criminals, although she pursued every means in her power.

'In consequence of this failure or neglect, I, Charles of Orleans, have of late most humbly supplicated you to grant me warrants against these aforesaid murderers, addressed to all your justices, that they might, on due examination of the charges, imprison and punish, according to the exigency of the case, all or any who may have been implicated in this abominable crime. In this I made not any extraordinary request; for justice is due to all your subjects, and cannot be refused them: you cannot believe that any man, however low his rank in your kingdom, would have a similar request neglected by your courts of justice, for I know it could not be refused. However, in spite of every exertion I could make, I have never yet been able to obtain these warrants, the reason of which is, as I suppose, that some of your new ministers are implicated in the crime I am anxious to have punished, and therefore will not suffer such warrants to be issued.

'For this reason, therefore, most redoubted lord, have I of late earnestly supplicated you, that you would, from personal considerations, and for the good of your realm, dismiss from your service the persons named in my letter, —for I therein charged them with having obstructed public justice and disturbed the peace of the country. When this should be done, I declared to your ambassadors, that I was willing, from my love to your person and attachment to your kingdom, to make publicly known my future intentions, and that my conduct should be such as would have the approbation of God and of your majesty; but notwithstanding this, I have not yet had any satisfactory answer to all my repeated solicitations for justice on the murderers of my late regretted lord and father.

'We, therefore, most redoubted lord, again make our petitions that the aforesaid criminals may be brought to that justice which is due to them for the enormity of their offences; the principal having made a public confession of his guilt in the presence of my lord of Acquitaine, who presided, in your absence, at the meeting held at his request in the hôtel de St Pol, and before a numerous

body of the nobility, clergy and others; and the traitor cannot deny that this his confession was made before a competent judge, and in the presence of such witnesses as the king of Sicily and my lord of Berry your uncle.

'He had before privately confessed to these two persons, that he had committed the murder without any cause whatever, but through the instigation of the enemy of mankind. This confession, according to every law, ought to be to his prejudice, nor should he be suffered to offer any excuse in extenuation of a crime thus publicly and privately avowed; for he has condemned himself, and ought to have judgment passed on him accordingly.

'It is very apparent, that such confession requires not any further proceedings but the passing of that sentence which the enormity of the crime deserves. Notwithstanding this, our much-regretted lady-mother and ourselves have never been able, with all our exertions, to overcome the premeditated delays to obstruct justice; for three years and a half are elapsed since we first brought the matter before you, and we are not one step more advanced to the attainment of judgment than we were then.

It is painful to consider what may be the consequence of this wilful delay of justice to the welfare of your kingdom, and that the most dangerous consequences may ensue, unless a speedy and decisive remedy be applied.

'May it therefore please your grace to do your loyal duty, in executing this act of justice, in obedience to God your Creator, to whom judgment appertains, and from whom you hold your authority. Have regard also to the good government of your realm, and exert yourself to put an end to every obstacle in the way of a just punishment on the traitor. We most earnestly supplicate you to comply with this our request as soon as possible, for we are bounden to press you to it, to the utmost of our powers, under pain of not being reputed the children of our late lamented father, and of being disgraced, and unworthy of bearing his name and arms, and of succeeding to his honours and estates: such dishonour we will never endure, but would rather suffer death, as ought to be the determination of every man of noble heart, of whatever rank or estate he may be.

'We therefore entreat you, with all possible humility, that for this purpose, and

also in order to resist and oppose his wicked intention to destroy us by any means whatsoever, it may please you, from your benignant grace, to aid, assist and abet by your power, us to whom God hath vouchsafed so great favour as to cause us to be born your relations, even of your own kin, and your true nephews, children of your only brother,—or, to speak more properly, assist your only brother, who has fallen a martyr to the ambitious views of this traitor. Most redoubted lord, there is no man so poor, who, having had his brother murdered, will not prosecute the murderer to death, and the more earnestly as the criminal displays greater obstinacy. This is exemplified in the conduct of our traitor; for it is notorious, that he has dared to write, and to declare to many respectable persons, that he slew your brother, whom God pardon! our much-redoubted lord and father, fairly and meritoriously. In answer to which, I Charles of Orleans say, that he lies, and I at present decline to make a more ample reply,—for it is very manifest, as I have before explained, that he is a liar, and a false disloyal traitor, and that, through the grace of God, I am, and ever will be without reproach, and a teller of truth.

'Since, therefore, such things cannot fail of being very prejudicial to your realm and to the public welfare, we beseech you most humbly to do us that justice which you are bounden to do, and to assist us by every means in your power, that we may have full and ample reparation for the wrongs done us and our family, and that this murder may be punished in the manner it deserves. In acting thus, you will acquit yourself toward God our Creator, and execute justice, of which you are the supreme head, to whom we must have recourse after God.

'That you, our most redoubted lord, may be assured that the contents of this letter are from our free will and knowledge, we, Charles, Philip and John, your most humble children and nephews, have each of us signed it with our own hands. Written at Gergeau, the 10th day of July, in the year 1411.'

This letter was sent, by a herald of the duke of Orleans, to the king at Paris, and was laid before the whole of the council, where different opinions were held as to the contents. Some wished that the brothers should have their requests complied with, and that the duke of Burgundy should be summoned, that

they might hear what he had to say in his defence to the charges which they should make against him. But at length the business was postponed, and the duke of Orleans could not obtain any favourable answer; for the greater part of those who ruled the king and the duke of Acquitaine were favourers of the duke of Burgundy, to whom they shortly after sent a copy of the above letter.

The duke of Burgundy, on reading it, was convinced that the family of Orleans and their friends would very soon declare war against him; and in consequence, he immediately began to make every preparation to oppose them, by forming magazines of stores, and engaging a numerous body of men at arms, in various parts of his possessions.

The duke of Orleans and his brothers had not only written to the king of France, and to the princes of the blood, but also to the principal towns, making complaint against the duke of Burgundy, and requiring their support. When they perceived that the king and his ministers did not intend to answer their letter, they again wrote to the great towns, giving them to understand, that if redress were not granted them in the legal manner, as they had

demanded it, they should seek other means of obtaining it.

It was now ordered by the king, the queen, and the duke of Berry, and others of weight in the council, that measures should be adopted for appeasing the quarrels of the dukes of Orleans and of Burgundy. Ambassadors were sent to each of the parties, but without success, principally because the duke of Burgundy would not condescend to make any other reparation than what had passed at the treaty of Chartres; and his pride was increased by having the king and the duke of Acquitaine on his side.

The Orleans-party were much discontented, but not dismayed; for many very considerable lords were with them, and had promised them aid and support against the duke of Burgundy to the utmost of their powers. The queen, therefore, and the others employed to negotiate a peace between the two factions, finding their attempts fruitless, gave it up, and on a certain day made a report to the king of what they had done, and the answers they had received from both parties. Shortly after, the duke of Orleans and his faction resolved to make mortal war on the duke of Burgundy

and his allies, and sent him their challenges by a herald.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND HIS BROTHERS SEND A CHALLENGE TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, IN HIS TOWN OF DOUAY.

THE following is the tenour of the challenge sent by the three brothers of Orleans to the duke of Burgundy, in consequence of the murder of their late father, the duke of Orleans.

'Charles, duke of Orleans and of Valois, count of Blois and of Beaumont, and lord of Coucy, Philip count of Vertus, John count of Angoulême, brothers,—to thee, John, who callest thyself duke of Burgundy.

'For the very horrible murder by thee committed (in treacherously waylaying by assassins) on the person of our most redoubted lord and father, Louis duke of Orleans, only brother to my lord the king, our sovereign and thine, in spite of all the divers oaths of

brotherhood and fellowship thou hadst sworn to him; and for the numberless treacheries and disloyal acts that thou hast perpetrated, as well against our sovereign lord the king as against ourselves, we thus acquaint thee, that we shall make war upon and distress thee and thine by every possible means in our power.

'And we appeal to God and justice against thy disloyalty and treason, and call for the assistance of every worthy man in this world. In testimony whereof, and to assure thee of its truth, we have subjoined the seal of me Charles of Orleans to these presents. Given at Gergeau, the 18th day of July.'

The above letter was delivered to the duke of Burgundy by a herald in his town of Douay, who, having considered its contents, wrote the following answer, which he sent by one of his heralds at arms to the aforesaid brothers.

CHAP. XXIX.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS AN ANSWER TO THE CHALLENGE OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND HIS BROTHERS.

'JOHN duke of Burgundy, count of Artois, of Flanders, palatine of Burgundy, lord of Salines and of Malines,—to thee Charles, who stylest thyself duke of Orleans and Valois,—and to thee Philip, who signest thyself count of Vertus,—and to thee John, who callest thyself count of Angoulême, who have lately sent me your letters of defiance.

'We make known to you, and to all the world, that to put an end to the abominable treasons and mischiefs that were daily plotted in various ways, against the person of our sovereign lord and king, and against all his royal offspring, by Louis your father, and to prevent your false and disloyal father from succeeding in his abominable designs against the person of our and his most redoubted lord and sovereign, which were become so notorious that no honest man ought to have suffered him to live, more especially we who

are cousin-german to our lord the king, dean of the peerage, and twice a peer *, felt it incumbent on us not to permit such a person longer to exist on the earth, and, by putting an end to his life, have done pleasure to God, and a most loyal service to our sovereign lord, in destroying a vile and disloyal traitor.

'And since thou and thy brothers are following the detestable traces and felony of your said father, thinking to succeed in the aforesaid damnable attempts, we have received your challenge with great gladness of heart. But in regard to the charges therein made against us, we declare ye have falsely and wickedly lied, like disloyal traitors as ye are; and with the assistance of our sovereign, who is perfectly well acquainted and satisfied with our loyalty and honour, and for the welfare of his people, we will inflict that punishment on you as such abandoned traitors and wicked rebels are deserving of. In witness of which, we have had this letter sealed with our seal. Given at our town of Douay, the 14th day of August, in the year 1411.'

* He was a peer as duke of Burgundy, and again a peer as count-palatine of Burgundy.

This answer, as I have before said, was carried by one of the duke of Burgundy's officers at arms to Blois, and there delivered to the duke of Orleans and his brothers, who were very indignant at the expressions contained therein. He nevertheless entertained the bearer well, and, having maturely considered the matter, exerted himself to the utmost in collecting men at arms to wage war on the duke of Burgundy.

CHAP. XXX.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY IS DICONTENTED WITH SIR MANSART DU BOS.—HE SENDS LETTERS TO REQUIRE THE ASSISTANCE OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON.

When the duke of Burgundy was convinced that he could not avoid war with the family of Orleans and their adherents, for several of them had challenged him by letters and otherwise, he vigorously applied himself to collect forces to resist them. Among those who had sent him letters of defiance, he was more displeased with

sir Mansart du Bos, a knight of Picardy, than with any of the rest; but of him, and his end, more shall be said hereafter.

He wrote a letter to the duke of Bourbon, which he sent by Flanders king at arms, the contents of which were as follow:

'Very dear and well-beloved cousin, duke of Bourbon and count of Clermont,—John duke of Burgundy, count of Artois, Flanders and Burgundy, hopes he remains well in your good memory. In the year 1405, you and he formed certain alliances, which, three years ago, were, at your request, renewed and again sworn to, in the presence of many knights and of other persons well deserving credit. In consequence, you were to remain my good and true friend during your life, to promote to the utmost my welfare and honour, and to ward off any evil from me, as a sincere relation is bound to do; and likewise, whenever any thing should affect my own honour, or that of my friends, you were bound to assist them or me, to the utmost of your abilities, in council or in arms, and to aid me with money and vassals against all the world, excepting only the persons of my lord the king and of my lord of Acquitaine, or whoever may succeed to the throne of France,

and of my late fair cousin, the duke of Bourbon, your father.

'Should it have happened that a war took place between me and any enemy, whose side the late duke of Bourbon embraced, in that case you might have joined your late father, but only during the course of his life, without any way derogating from the articles of our said alliance. Now, as we both have most solemnly sworn to the observance of this alliance on the holy evangelists of God, and on sacred relics touched by us, to the damnation of our souls in case of failure, I inform you, very dear and well-beloved cousin, that Charles, who calls himself duke of Orleans, in conjunction with Philip and John, his brothers, have sent me a challenge, and intend to wage war on me to the utmost of their power; but I hope, through the will of God, and the assistance of my friends and allies, in council and in arms, and with the aid of my subjects and vassals, to make a successful defence of my honour against their attempts.

'And since, very dear and well-beloved cousin, you have so solemnly bound yourself to assist me on every lawful occasion, I now,

therefore, in virtue of this alliance, require and summon you to come personally to my aid, attended by as many of your friends and men at arms as you can collect, in opposition to the aforesaid Charles, Philip and John, and thus honourably acquit yourself of your oaths and promises,—knowing, at the same time, that on a similar occasion I would accomplish every article of my oaths, without any fraud whatever. And this I hope you will do.—Have the goodness to write to me by the return of the bearer, to inform me of your pleasure and intentions, as the necessity of the case requires it.

'Given at my town of Douay, and sealed with my great seal appendant to these presents, the 14th day of August, in the year 1411.'

This letter was delivered by the aforesaid herald to the duke of Bourbon, who, having fully read and considered its contents, replied to the herald, that he would speedily send his answer to the duke of Burgundy. This he did; for in a few days he returned the articles of confederation, which he had formed with the duke of Burgundy, declaring them annulled, and strictly united himself to the duke of Orleans and his brothers, to the great displeasure of the

duke of Burgundy, but who at that time could not redress it.

CHAP. XXXI.

A ROYAL PROCLAMATION IS ISSUED, THAT NO PERSON WHATEVER BEAR ARMS FOR EITHER OF THE PARTIES OF THE DUKES OF ORLEANS OR OF BURGUNDY.—THE LATTER WRITES TO THE BAILIFF OF AMIENS.

THE duke of Burgundy, fearful that many of his friends would desert him, in obedience of the royal proclamation which had been made in every town and bailiwick through France, strictly commanding all persons whatever not to interfere, or in any manner to assist the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy in their quarrels with each other, wrote letters to the bailiff of Amiens, to his lieutenant, and the mayor and sheriffs of that place, and to each of them, the contents of which were as follows:

'Very dear and well-beloved,—we have heard from several of the declaration of my lord the king, by which you are forbidden, as

well as all his other subjects, to arm in our defence, or in that of our adversaries. This proclamation has been issued by our lord the king, because he was very desirous of establishing peace and concord between us and our enemies; and for this purpose he had many times sent his ambassadors as well to them as to us, to which we have alway replied like a true and loyal subject and servant; and, through God's mercy, all our answers have tended to a good end, and to peace and union, which has made them perfectly agreeable to our lord the king. But our adversaries having persisted in the same damnable and wicked purposes, which they have ever followed against the peace of my lord the king, his noble family, and the public welfare, by continuing to tread in the footsteps of their father, who, for a long time, persevered in his intentions of destroying my lord the king and his family, have acted quite contrariwise, and sent answers full of dissimulation and treachery, with the sole design of gaining time.

'Whilst our much-redoubted lady the queen of France, our very dear lord and uncle the duke of Berry, and our very dear brother the duke of Brittany, were endeavouring,

according to the king's orders, to negotiate a peace between us and our adversaries, these false and disloyal traitors, and disobedient subjects, Charles, who calls himself duke of Orleans, and his brothers, sent to us their challenges, and, before that time, have often scandalously, and in violation of their oaths, defamed our person and character as they had before done. This, however, under God's pleasure, will fail in having any effect, for he who knows all hearts is acquainted with the steady love and attachment we bear, and shall bear so long as we live, to our lord the king and to his family, and to the welfare of his kingdom; and we shall ever support the same with all the worldly possessions and powers that God has bestowed upon us.

'With these views we have done and commanded such acts as have been done, without paying regard to the scandalous defamations that have been thrown out against us, or any way fearing a diminution of honour by such false, wicked, and disobedient traitors to our lord the king, as the aforesaid Charles and his brothers, the issue of that infamous traitor, their father, so notorious throughout the realm.

'In truth, we hold it not to have been the intention of our lord the king to prevent any of our relatives, friends, allies, subjects, and well-inclined vassals, from joining us, in the defence of our honour, against our enemies, and to defend our countries from invasion.

'We therefore entreat of you, and require most affectionately, that you will please to allow such as may be inclined to serve us, who live within your bailiwick, and all others of our friends who may travel through it, to pass freely without any molestation whatever; for you may be assured, that what we shall do will be for the welfare and security of my lord the king, his family, and the whole kingdom, to the confusion of all disloyal traitors.

'Should there be any thing that we could do to give you pleasure, you have but to signify it to us, and we will do it with our whole heart. —Very dear and good friends, may the Holy Spirit have you under his care! Written in our town of Douay, the 13th day of August.'

These letters were very agreeable to Ferry de Hangest, then bailiff of Amiens, and to the others to whom they had been addressed, for they were well inclined to favour the duke of Burgundy.

CHAP. XXXII.

THE PARISIANS TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST THE ARMAGNACS.—A CIVIL WAR BREAKS OUT IN SEVERAL PARTS OF FRANCE.

At this time the king of France, who had for a considerable time enjoyed good health, relapsed into his former disorder; on which account, and by reason of the discontents that prevailed throughout the kingdom, (the seat of government had been transferred to Melun,) the butchers of Paris, who have greater power and privileges than any other trade, suspecting that the government of the realm, through the intrigues of the queen and the provost of merchants, named Charles Cudane, would be given to the dukes of Berry and Brittany, in preference to the duke of Acquitaine, the king's eldest son, waited upon the latter, and exhorted him, notwithstanding his youth, to assume the government for the good of the king and kingdom, promising him their most loyal aid until death. The duke of Acquitaine inclined to their request, and granted them their wishes.

This done, they ordered it to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet in all the squares of Paris, that the provost of merchants, and others in Paris, who were numerous, and whom they suspected of being favourable to the dukes of Berry, Bourbon, and Brittany, and to their parties, must quit the town before a fixed day, under pain of suffering death. In consequence of this proclamation, twelve persons, men and women, without including the domestics of the above lords, left Paris; and shortly after, the duke of Brittany, hearing of these commotions, took leave of the queen at Melun and retired into his duchy.

The butchers, and those who lived near the market-places, with the greater part of the Parisians, were strong partisans of the duke of Burgundy, and very desirous that only he, or those that were of his party, should govern the kingdom; and, to say the truth, it was now become dangerous for the nobility, of whatever party they might be, to dwell in Paris, for the common people had great sway in its government.

In the mean time, the duke of Orleans and his allies were strengthening themselves, by every means in their power, with men at

arms. The duke of Bourbon and the count d'Alençon came in these days with a numerous body before the town of Roye in the Vermandois, which belongs to the king of France, and entered it about mid-day, more through fraud than by force of arms, for the townsmen did not suspect any warfare. When they had dined, they sent for the principal inhabitants, and ordered them, whether it were pleasing to them or otherwise, to receive a garrison from them. They then rode to Nesle, in the Vermandois, belonging to the count de Dammartin, wherein they also placed a garrison.

Thence they dispatched sir Clugnet de Brabant, who had joined them, sir Manessier Guieret, and other captains well attended, to the town of Ham in the Vermandois, belonging to the duke of Orleans: they returned by Chauni sur Oise, where they also left a garrison, and in many other places, as well belonging to themselves as to others attached to their party.

The duke of Bourbon, on his arrival from this expedition at his town of Clermont, strengthened it, and all his other towns in that country, with fortifications. When the garrisons

had been properly posted, the war suddenly broke out between the two parties of Armagnacs and Burgundians.

The duke of Burgundy had not been idle in fortifying his towns with garrisons, and in collecting men at arms to resist his adversaries: he himself was in Flanders making preparations to march an army to offer them battle. The army of the Armagnacs had already made incursions into Artois, and had done much mischief to friend and foe, by carrying off prisoners and great plunder to the garrisons whence they had come. The Burgundians were not slow in making reprisals, and frequently invaded the county of Clermont and other parts.

When by chance the two parties met, the one shouted 'Orleans!' and the other 'Burgundy!' and thus from this accursed war, carried on in different parts, the country suffered great tribulation.

The duke of Burgundy, however, had the king on his side, and those also who governed him: he resided in his hôtel of St Pol in Paris, and the greater part of its inhabitants were likewise attached to the duke of Burgundy.

At that time, the governors of Paris were Waleran count de St Pol and John of Luxembourg *, his nephew, who was very young, Enguerrand de Bournouville, and other captains. They frequently made sallies, well accompanied by men at arms, on the Armagnacs, who at times even advanced to the gates of Paris. They were particularly careful in guarding the person of the king, to prevent him from being seduced by the Orleans-party, and carried out of the town.

CHAP. XXXIII.

SIR CLUGNET DE BRABANT IS NEAR TAKING RETHEL.—HE OVERRUNS THE COUNTRY OF BURGUNDY.——OTHER TRIBULATIONS ARE NOTICED.

Sir Clugnet de Brabant, who always styled himself admiral of France, one day assembled two thousand combatants, or thereabout, whom he marched as speedily as he could from their

* John, called count de Ligny, third son of John count of Brienne, brother to the count de St Pol.

different garrisons, to the country of the Rethelois, having with them scaling ladders and other warlike machines. They arrived at the ditches of the town of Rethel about sun-rise, and instantly made a very sharp assault, thinking to surprise the garrison and plunder the town. The inhabitants, however, had received timely notice of their intentions, and had prepared themselves for resistance as speedily as they could.—Nevertheless, the assault lasted a considerable time with much vigour on both sides, insomuch that many were killed and wounded of each party.

Among the latter was sir Clugnet de Brabant, who, judging from the defence which was made, that he could not gain the place, ordered the retreat to be sounded; and his men marched into the plain, carrying with them the dead and wounded. He then divided them into two companies; the one of which marched through the country of the Laonnois to Coucy and Chauni, plundering what they could lay hands on, and making all prisoners whom they met on their retreat.

The other company marched through part of the empire, by the county of Guise, passing through the Cambresis, and driving

before them, like the others, all they could find, especially great numbers of cattle, and thus returned to the town of Ham sur Somme and to their different garrisons.

When they had reposed themselves for eight days, they again took the field with six thousand combatants, and marched for the county of Artois. They came before the town of Bapaume, belonging to the duke of Burgundy, and, on their arrival, won the barriers, and advanced to the gates, where there was a severe skirmish. But the lord de Heilly, sir Hugh de Busse, the lord d'Ancuelles and other valiant men at arms, who had been stationed there by the duke of Burgundy, made a sally, and drove them beyond the barriers,—when many gallant deeds were done, and several killed and wounded on both sides; but the Burgundians were forced to retire within the town, for their enemies were too numerous for them to attempt any effectual resistance. The Orleans-party now retreated, and collected much plunder in the adjacent country, which they carried with them to their town of Ham.

During this time, sir James de Chastillon*, and the other ambassadors from the king of

* James de Châtillon was appointed admiral in 1408, in the room of Clugnet de Breban. He was lord of

France, negotiated a truce at Leulinghen, in the Boulonois, with the english ambassadors, to last for one year on sea and land.

While these things were passing, the duke of Berry came with the queen of France from Melun to Corbeil, and thence sent Louis of Bavaria to the duke of Acquitaine in Paris, and to those who governed the king, and also to the butchers, to request that they would be pleased to allow him to attend the queen to Paris, and to reside in his hôtel of Neele, near to the king his nephew, since he was determined no way to interfere in the war between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy.

But his request was refused, chiefly owing to the butchers of Paris, and others of the commonalty, who had great weight; and that he might give over all thoughts of coming, they broke every door and window of his hôtel de Neele, and committed other great damages. They sent back the queen's brother with a message to her, to come and reside with her lord at Paris, without delay, but not to bring the duke of Berry with her.

The Parisians, fearful that the king and the duke of Acquitaine might be carried off

Dampierre, and son of Hugh de Châtillon, formerly master of the cross-bows.

from the hôtel of St Pol, made them reside at the Louvre, where they kept constant guard day and night, to prevent any attempts of the Orleans-party to carry them away.

The queen, on receiving the message by her brother from the Parisians, and suspecting the consequences of their commotions, set out from Corbeil, and returned to Melun with him and the duke of Berry. A few days after, the Parisians took up arms, marched in a large body to Corbeil, took the town, and placed a garrison therein. They then broke down all the bridges over the Seine, between Charenton and Melun, that the Armagnacs might not pass the river and enter the island of France.

While the queen and the duke of Berry were at Melun, with the count Waleran de St Pol, whom the marshal Boucicaut had sent thither, the master of the cross-bows and the grand master of the household came to them with few attendants. The duke of Bourbon and the count d'Alençon, on their road from the Vermandois and Beauvoisis, to join the duke of Orleans, who was assembling his troops in the Gâtinois, called on the queen and the duke of Berry, to require their aid and support against the duke of Burgundy, which

was not granted,—because the king in full council, presided by the duke of Acquitaine, had just published an edict in very strong terms, and had caused it to be sent to all the bailiwicks and seneschalships of the kingdom, ordering all nobles, and others that were accustomed to bear arms, to make themselves ready to serve the king, in company with John duke of Burgundy, and to aid him in driving out of his realm all traitorous and disobedient subjects, commanding them to obey the duke of Burgundy the same as himself, and ordering all towns and passes to be opened to him, and to supply him with every necessary provision and store, the same as if he were there in person. On this proclamation being issued, very many made preparations to serve under the duke of Burgundy with all diligence. In addition, the duke of Acquitaine wrote the duke letters in his own hand, by which he ordered all the men at arms dependant on the crown to serve personally against his cousin-german, the duke of Orleans, and his allies, who, as he said, were wasting the kingdom in many different parts, desiring him to advance as speedily as he could toward Senlis and the island of France.

CHAP. XXXIV.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ASSEMBLES A LARGE ARMY TO LAY SIEGE TO THE TOWN OF HAM, AND LEADS THITHER HIS FLEMINGS.

THE duke of Burgundy, being now assured that the duke of Orleans and his allies were raising a large force to invade his countries, and that they had already placed garrisons in towns and fortresses belonging to him or his allies, whence they had made frequent inroads to the despoiling of his country, was highly discontented. To oppose them, he had sent his summons to all his territories in Burgundy, Artois and Flanders, and elsewhere, for all nobles, and others accustomed to bear arms in his behalf, to prepare themselves to join him with all speed, well accoutred and armed, in obedience to the king's commands, and to oppose his and the king's enemies.

He also solicited the assistance of his good towns in Flanders, and requested that they would powerfully exert themselves in his favour, to which they readily and liberally assented. They raised a body of forty or fifty

thousand combatants, well armed and provided with staves according to the custom of the country. They had twelve thousand carriages, as well carts as cars, to convey their armour, baggage and artillery, and a number of very large cross-bows, called ribaudequins, placed on two wheels, each having a horse to draw it. They had also machines for the attack of towns, behind which were long iron spits, to be used toward the close of a battle,—and on each of them was mounted one or two pieces of artillery.

The duke of Burgundy had also summoned to his assistance the duke of Brabant, his brother, who attended him with a handsome company; as did likewise a valiant english knight, named sir William Baldock, lieutenant of Calais, with about three hundred english combatants.

Their places of rendezvous were at the towns of Douay and Arras, and the adjacent country. The duke of Burgundy, on quitting Douay with his brother of Brabant and great multitudes of men of rank, advanced to Sluys, belonging to the count de la Marche, where he lodged. On the morrow, the first day of September, he marched away early, and fixed his quarters on the plain near to Marcouin,

where he had his tents and pavilions pitched, and waited there two days for the arrival of his whole army, and particularly for his Flemings, who came in grand parade, and drew up to their quarters in handsome array. —So numerous were their tents that their encampments looked like large towns; and in truth, when all were assembled, they amounted to sixty thousand fighting men, without including the varlets, and such like, who were numberless,—and the whole country resounded with the noises they made.

With regard to the Flemings, they thought that no towns or fortresses could withstand them; and the duke of Burgundy was obliged, on their setting off, to abandon to them whatever they might conquer; and when they went from one quarter to another, they were commonly all fully armed, and in companies, according to the different towns and the custom of Flanders,—and even when they marched on foot, the greater part wore leg-armour.

As to their mode of marching through a country, whatever they could lay hands on was seized, and, if portable, thrown into their carts; and they were so proud, on account of their great numbers, that they paid not any attention

to noble men, however high their rank; and when the army was to be quartered, or when they were on a foraging party, they rudely drove away other men at arms, especially if they were not their countrymen, taking from them whatever provision they might have collected, or any thing else that pleased them. This conduct created great disturbances and quarrels, more especially among the Picards, who would not patiently endure their rudeness, insomuch that the duke of Burgundy and his captains had great difficulty in keeping any kind of peace between them.

The duke, after waiting some days for the whole of his army, saw it arrive; and then he marched off triumphantly, and in handsome array, and fixed his quarters on the river Scheldt, near to the town of Marcouin.

On the morrow, he advanced to Mouchi la Garhe, between Peronne and Ham, and halted there. At this place, a Fleming was hanged for stealing a chalice and other valuables from a church. He thence marched toward the town of Ham sur Somme, where his enemies were.

On his approach to the town of Athies, belonging to the count de Dammartin, one of

his adversaries, the inhabitants were so terrified that they came out in a body to present him with the keys of the gates, on the condition of being secured from pillage. The duke liberally granted their request, seeing they had thus humbled themselves before him of their own free will, and gave them a sufficient force to guard their town from being any way molested. ——The duke then advanced with his army near to Ham, but sent forward some of his best light troops to observe the countenance of the enemy. The Orleans-party sallied out against them, and a sharp skirmish took place; but they were compelled, by the superior number of the Burgundians, to retire within the town. The next day he marched his whole army before the place in battle-array, and had his tents pitched on an eminence in front of one of the gates, and about the distance of a cannon shot. The Flemings were likewise encamped according to the orders of their marshals and leaders, during which the garrison made some sallies, but were repulsed, in spite of their valour, by superior numbers, and many were killed and wounded on each side.

When the duke had surrounded this town on one side only, he ordered battering machines

to be placed against the gate and wall, to demolish them; and the Flemings pointed their ribaudequins, and shot from them so continually, day and night, that the enemy were greatly annoyed. Breaches were made in the wall and gate within a few days; but though the garrison was much harrassed, they repaired both in the best manner they could, with wood and dung.

At length, the besiegers fixed on a day for a general attack on the gate, intending to force an entry: the engagement continued very sharp for three hours, but the garrison defended themselves so valiantly, wounding and slaying so many of the assailants, that they were forced to retreat. This happened on a Thursday; and on the Friday, the duke of Burgundy, I know not for what reason, had it proclaimed that no one should, on any account, make an assault on the town, but that all should labour in forming bridges over the Somme, that a passage might be obtained for the army, and that the place might be besieged on all sides, —but events turned out very far from his expectations.

On the Friday morning, the besieged were expecting that the attack would be

renewed; but hearing of the duke's intentions to cross the river with his army and surround the town, they packed up all their valuables and fled, leaving within the walls only poor people and peasants, who had retired thither for safety. Those persons not having ability or inclination to defend themselves, the duke's army, headed by the Picards, entered the place without any danger. The Flemings, observing this, rushed so impetuously to gain admittance that many were squeezed to death. When they had entered, they instantly began to plunder all they could lay hands on, according to the liberty which their lord the duke had granted them; for, as I have said, he had been necessitated so to do before they would march from home. Part placed themselves on one side of the street, leading to the gate which they had entered, and part on the other; and when the Picards, or others not of their country, were returning, they stopped and robbed them of all they had: they spared no man, noble or otherwise; and in this riot several were killed and wounded.

They entered a monastery of the town, and took away all they could find, and carried to their tents many of both sexes, and children;

and, on the morrow, having seized all they had, they set fire to several parts of the town,—and, to conclude all, the churches and houses, with many of the inhabitants, were burnt, as well as a great quantity of cattle that had been driven thither as to a place of security.

Notwithstanding this cruel conduct of the Flemings, six or seven of the monks escaped from the monastery, by the assistance of some noblemen, particularly the prior, who most reverently held in his hands a cross, and were conducted to the tents of the duke of Burgundy, where they were in safety.

Such was the conduct of the Flemings at the commencement of this war. There were many towns beyond the Somme that belonged to the duke of Orleans and his allies, who, hearing of what had passed at Ham, were, as it may be readily believed, in the utmost fear and alarm; and there were few people desirous of waiting their coming, lest they should be besieged in some fortress, and suffer a similar fate,—for sir Clugnet de Brabant and sir Manessier Guieret, as I have said, had already abandoned Ham, which was well supplied with stores and provision, and had retreated to Chauni and to Coucy.

The inhabitants of the town of Neelle, belonging to the count de Dammartin, seeing the smoke of Ham, were greatly perplexed, for their garrison had fled; but they, following the example of the town of Athies, waited on the duke of Burgundy, and, with many lamentations, presented him with the keys of their town, offering to submit themselves to his mercy. The duke received them into favour, in the name of the king and his own, on their swearing not to admit any garrison, and to be in future true and loyal subjects to the king, their sovereign lord.

This oath they willingly took; and, having thanked the duke for his mercy, they returned to their town, and by his orders demolished some of their gates and many parts of their walls. They also made their magistrates and principal inhabitants swear to the observance of the treaty which they had made, and for this time they remained in peace.

In like manner, those of the town of Roye, that were but lately become subjects to the king, sent deputies to the duke, at his camp before Ham, to say, that the Orleans party had treacherously entered their town,

and had done them much mischief, but that they had departed on hearing of his march, and requesting he would not be displeased with them, as they were ready to receive him, and act according to his pleasure. The duke told them, he should be satisfied if they would promise, on their oaths, never to admit again within their walls any of his adversaries of the Orleans-party. Having obtained this answer, they returned joyous to their town.

The duke now passed the Somme with his army at Ham, leaving that town completely ruined, and marched toward Chauni on the Oise, belonging to the duke of Orleans; but the garrison, hearing of it, quitted the place in haste. The townsmen, greatly alarmed, sent, without delay, to offer him their keys, and humbly supplicated his mercy, saying that their lord's men at arms had fled on hearing of his approach, from the fear they had of him. The duke received them kindly, and took their oaths, that they would henceforth loyally obey the king their sovereign lord, and himself, and would admit a garrison of his men to defend the town.

After the conclusion of this treaty, the duke advanced to Roye, in the Vermandois,

and was lodged in the town, having quartered his army in the country round it. He dispatched thence sir Peter des Essars, knight, and his confidential adviser, to the king of France, to his son-in-law the duke of Acquitaine, and to the citizens of Paris, to make them acquainted with the strength of his army, and with his successes. Sir Peter des Essars was honourably received by the duke of Acquitaine and the Parisians; and in compliment to the duke of Burgundy, he was reinstated in his office of provost, in the room of sir Brunelet de Sainct Cler, who, by the royal authority, was appointed bailiff of Senlis, on the dismission of sir Gastelius du Bost, who was suspected of being a favourer of the Orleans-party.

When sir Peter des Essars had finished the business he had been sent on to Paris, he set out for Rethel to announce to the count de Nevers, who had assembled a considerable force, the march of the duke, and to desire him to advance to the town of Mondidier, where he would have more certain intelligence of his brother. The count de Nevers, on hearing this, used all diligence to assemble his men, and set off to join the duke.

During these transactions, the duke of Orleans, the count d'Armagnac, the constable of France, the master of the cross-bows, with a large body of men at arms and others, came to the town of Melun, where the queen of France and the duke of Berry resided. Having held a conference with the queen and duke, they advanced to La Fertè on the Marne, which belonged to sir Robert de Bar *, in right of his wife the viscountess de Meaux. They crossed the Marne, and came to Arsy en Mussien, in the county of Valois, dependant on the duke of Orleans, where his brother, the count de Vertus, met him.

The count was accompanied by a numerous body of combatants, among whom were the duke of Bourbon, John son to the duke of Bar, sir William de Coucy, Amé de Sallebruche, sir Hugh de Hufalize, with others from the Ardennes, Lorraine and Germany, who, in the whole, amounted to full six thousand knights and esquires, not including armed infantry and bowmen; and this party was henceforward popularly called *Armagnacs*, as I have before observed. Each bore on his armour badges

* Nephew of duke Edward. See p. 232.

similar to those which they had formerly worn when they lay before Paris.

The duke of Orleans marched this army from the Valois, passing by Senlis, toward his county of Beaumont; but Enguerrand de Bournouville, who had been posted in Senlis with a large force of men at arms to guard it, sallied out on their rear, and made a good booty of their baggage as well as prisoners. In doing this, however, he lost some of his men, who were slain or taken, and he then returned to Senlis. The duke of Orleans, with the other princes, were lodged in the castle of Beaumont, and his army in the country surrounding it.

The count de Nevers was prevented from joining his brothers as he intended,—for the Armagnacs, being the strongest, constrained him to conduct his army to Paris.

The duke of Burgundy was already arrived at Mondidier with his whole army, and was making preparations to combat his enemies, should they be so inclined, or to attack any town to which they should retire, according to his pleasure. But the Flemings were now desirous to return home, and had demanded permission of the duke, saying, that they had

served the time required of them on their departure from Flanders.

The duke was much surprised and displeased at their conduct, but earnestly desired that they would stay with him for only eight days longer, as he had received intelligence that his enemies were near at hand, with a great army, ready to offer him battle, and that they could never serve him more effectually. At this moment, the greater part of their officers waited on the duke to take leave of him, who, hearing the earnest and affectionate manner in which he made so trifling a request, resolved to go back to their men and inform them of it, and promised to do every thing in their power in order that it should be complied with.

On their return to the tent of Ghent, where all their councils were held, they assembled the leaders of the commonalty, and told them the request the duke their lord had made, namely, that they would stay with him only eight days more, for that his adversaries were at hand with a large army to offer him battle. This request having been stated, various were the opinions of the meeting: some were for staying, others not,

saying they had fulfilled the term required of them by their lord,—that winter was approaching, when, so numerous as they were, they could not keep the field without great danger. Their opinions were so discordant that no conclusion could be formed, to enable their captains to give any positive answer to the duke.

This council was held the 20th day of September, in the afternoon; and when it became dusk, these Flemings made very large fires in different places, of the wood and timber of the houses which they had pulled down and destroyed in Mondidier. They then began to load their baggage-waggons, and to arm themselves; and at midnight they all shouted from their quarters, in Flemish, *Vax, vax!* which signifies, 'To arms, to arms!' and alarmed all the other parts of the army.

The duke of Burgundy was entirely ignorant of what they intended to do, and sent some flemish lords to know their intentions; but they would not explain themselves to any one, and made answers contrary to the questions asked. During this, the night passed away; and the moment day appeared, they harnessed their horses to the baggage-waggons, and set

fire to all their lodgings, shouting, 'Gau, gau!' and departed, taking the road to Flanders.

The attendants of the duke of Burgundy, hearing this cry and clamour, went to inform him of it in his tent. Very much astonished thereat, he instantly mounted his horse, and, accompanied by the duke of Brabant, rode after them. When he had overtaken them, with his head uncovered and his hands uplifted, he most humbly besought them to return, and stay with him four days only, calling them his most trusty and well-beloved friends and companions, offering them great gifts, and promising to relieve the country of Flanders from taxes for ever, if they would comply with his wishes.

The duke of Brabant also remonstrated with them on the advantages offered them by their lord, and, as he asked in return so very trifling a favour, entreated them to pay due deference to his demand. But it was in vain: they turned a deaf ear to all that was said, and continued their march, only showing the written agreements they had made with the duke, which were carried before them, and which they had fulfilled on their part; but, as they were signed with his seal, he had not performed his, in

having them escorted beyond the river Somme to a place of safety. Should he refuse to do this, they would send him his only son, then at Ghent, cut into thousands of pieces.

The duke of Burgundy, noticing their rude manners, and perceiving that nothing was to be gained from them by fair means, began to appease them by ordering the trumpets to sound for decamping. This was not done without much loss,—for the duke, occupied solely with the attempt to make the Flemings change their minds, had not ordered the tents to be struck, nor the baggage loaded, so that the greater part of the tents were burnt, with other things, from the fire of the houses caused by the Flemings on their departure. The flames spread from house to house, to the lodgings of the duke of Burgundy, who was troubled to the heart,—for he well knew that his adversaries were in high spirits, a short day's march off, and he was anxious to give them battle; but from this conduct of the Flemings his intentions would be frustrated,—and what was worse, he knew for certain, that the moment they should hear of it, they would publish that he had retreated, not daring to meet them. He was, nevertheless, forced to

submit to events which he could not foresee nor prevent.

The Flemings had no sooner turned their faces homeward but they advanced more in one day than in three before, and whatever they could lay hands on was pillaged and thrown into their baggage-carts: they had, moreover, many quarrels with the Picards and English, and it often happened that stragglers were wounded or put to death,—and when they were superior in numbers, they failed not to retaliate.

It must be remembered, that this retreat took place in the month of September, when the grapes in the vineyards were ripe; and they robbed every vineyard they passed, devouring so many that numbers were found dead among the vines. On the other hand, they fed their horses and cattle so very abundantly on the immense pillage which they every where made, that very many were bursten.

The duke of Burgundy, on his arrival at Peronne with his men at arms, went personally to thank the Flemings, who were encamped on the river side, in the most humble manner for their services, and then had them escorted by his brother, the duke of Brabant, to Flanders,

when every man returned to his home. The magistrates of the great towns were, however, very much displeased when they heard of their behaviour; but they did not at the time notice it, for there were too many of them under arms.

Thus did the Flemings retreat from Mondidier contrary to the will of their lord, the duke of Burgundy. On the same day, a knight of the party of the duke of Orleans, called sir Peter de Quesnes, lord of Garois, at the head of full two hundred combatants, made an attack on Mondidier, about four hours after they had marched away. He found there many people, especially merchants, and inhabitants of the neighbourhood, whom he took prisoners: he slew many, and he and his men made a very great booty.

He then returned to Clermont in Beauvoisis, whither the Armagnacs had marched in pursuit of the count de Nevers. When they heard of this retreat of the duke of Burgundy and the Flemings, they held a council whether or not they should follow them into their own country. It was at length determined by the wisest to return toward Paris, and attempt to gain admittance by means of some connexions

they had there, principally in order to have possession of the person of the king, which was their grand object.

They began their march, in consequence, towards Verberies, and crossed the river Oise by a new bridge, which they erected, and thence advanced for Paris. Those who had the guard of the king and the Parisians were not well pleased to hear of their being so near, and made every preparation to oppose their entrance to Paris. The Armagnacs, finding it impossible to succeed, managed so well with the inhabitants of St Denis that they were there admitted; and the princes lodged in the town, and the army in the adjacent fields and villages. From that situation, they made a sharp war on the town of Paris, and on all those who sided with the king and the duke of Burgundy.

They advanced daily from different parts to the very gates of Paris,—when sallies were made against them, particularly by sir Enguerrand de Bournouville, who was one of the chiefs of the garrison under the count Waleran de St Pol, the governor of the town. Severe skirmishes often took place, and many gallant deeds were done by the men at arms of both sides.

CHAP. XXXV.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ASSEMBLES ANOTHER ARMY TO MARCH TO PARIS.—EVENTS THAT HAPPENED DURING THAT TIME.

We will now return to the duke of Burgundy, who having, as I have said, dismissed his Flemings, under the escort of his brother the duke of Brabant, went from Peronne to Arras, where he met the earls of Pembroke and of Arundel, and sir William Baldock, who had accompanied him on his late expedition. As these earls were lately come from England, he paid them every respect, in compliment to the king of England who had sent them. They had brought full twelve hundred combatants, as well horse as foot, all men of courage.

Much intercourse took place at this time between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy, respecting a marriage between Henry prince of Wales and one of the duke's daughters *.——After he had magnificently

* The advice which, according to Stowe, king Henry gave to the duke of Burgundy on this occasion was deserving of more attention than he was disposed to pay to it. The

feasted these english captains in his town of Arras, and made them handsome presents, he ordered them to march to Peronne, and hastily summoned men at arms from all quarters to meet him personally at Peronne, where he had commanded the nobles of his estates to assemble.

The duke of Brabant did not meet him this time, being detained in the county of Luxembourg by affairs on behalf of his wife. The duke of Burgundy left Peronne with no

duke of Burgoyne, desiring the king's aid against the duke of Orliance, promised many things,—amongst the which he promised his daughter in marriage to the prince, and a great sum of gold with her. To whom the king answered: 'We advertise you not to fight with your enemie in this case, who justly seemeth to vexe you, for the death of his father by you procured, but as much as in you lyeth endeavor yourself to mitigate the young man's wrath, and promise to make him reasonable satisfaction, according to the advice of your friends; and if then he will not cease from persecuting you, get you into the strongest place of your dominion, and there gather such power as may be able to put off his force. If then, after this, he will make war against you, you shall have the juster occasion to fight with him,—and in such case we will shew you such favour as yee have demaunded.' Thus there were sent over to his ayde Thomas earl of Arundell, Gilbert Umfreville earl of Angus, or earl of Kyme, sir Robert Umfreville, sir John Oldcastle lord Cobham, sir John Grey and William Porter, with twelve hundred archers,' &c. &c.

more than six thousand combatants, and marched to Roye,—thence, by Breteuil, to Beauvais, and from Beauvais, through Gisors, to Pontoise, where he halted for three weeks or thereabout. During this period, great numbers of men at arms came from different countries to serve him.

While these things were passing, it was ordered by the royal council, in the presence of the duke of Acquitaine, the count de Mortain, the lord Gilles of Brittany, Waleran count de St Pol, governor of Paris, the chancellor of France *, the lord Charles de Savoisy, and other great nobles, that certain proclamations should be sent to all the bailiwicks and seneschalships of the kingdom, respecting the assembling of such large bodies of men at arms, daily done in defiance of the king's orders, by the duke of Orleans, his brothers, the duke of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon and d'Armagnac, and others of their party, to the great mischief and tribulation of the kingdom at large, and highly displeasing to the king and disgraceful to his dignity.

* According to the catalogue in Moreri, Arnauld de Corbie, lord of Joigny, was at this time chancellor.

This proclamation again prohibited any one from daring to join the aforesaid nobles, or any of their party in arms, under pain of being reputed rebels and traitors to the king and his realm. It likewise commanded all that had joined them to depart without delay, and return peaceably to their homes, without further living on or harrassing the people, and ordered that no hindrance should be given to prevent this from being carried into effect. Such as should disobey these orders would be most rigorously prosecuted without delay as rebels,—and from that day forth no grace or favour would be shown them.

This proclamation was published in the usual places, and some few, but in no great number, privately quitted the party of the Armagnacs, and returned to that of the king. Those that were disobedient, when taken by the royal officers, were in great danger of their lives. Several were publicly executed; and among them a knight, called sir Binet d'Espineuse, attached to the duke of Bourbon from being a native of the county of Clermont, suffered at Paris. The cause of his death was his having taken by force some flanders horses that were coming as a present to the duke of

Acquitaine from the duke of Burgundy. After he was beheaded in the market-place, his body was suspended by the arms to the gibbet at Montfaucon.

This punishment was inflicted by order of sir Peter des Essars, who, as has been said, was lately re-established in his office of provost of Paris, in the room of sir Brunelet de Sainct-Cler.

The duke of Orleans and his party were indignant at this execution, as well as at the late royal proclamation; and the duke of Bourbon was particularly angry at the disgraceful death of his knight.

Thus affairs went on from bad to worse. One day, the duke of Orleans fixed his quarters, with a large force, at the castle of St Ouen, which is a royal mansion, and thence made daily excursions to the gates of Paris. He pressed the Parisians so hard that they were much straitened for provisions; for they were not as yet accustomed to war, nor had they provided any stores or assembled a force sufficient to repel the attacks of their adversaries.

The archbishop of Sens, brother to the late grand master Montagu, had joined the Armagnacs, but not in his pontifical robes;

for instead of a mitre, he wore a helmet,—for a surplice, a coat of mail,—and for a cope, a piece of steel,—for his croisier, a battle-axe. At this period, the duke of Orleans sent his heralds with letters to the king and the duke of Acquitaine, to inform them that the duke of Burgundy had fled with his Flemings from Mondidier, not daring to wait his nearer approach. He took that opportunity of writing also to some of his friends in Paris, to know if through their means he could be admitted into the town. It was lost labour, for those who governed for the duke of Burgundy were too active and attentive in keeping the party together.

By some intrigues between those of the Orleans-party and one named Colinet du Puiseur, who was governor for the king in the town of St Cloud, this place was given up to them. The duke of Orleans instantly re-garrisoned it, and continually harrassed the Parisians; for now he could at any time cross the Seine at the bridge of St Cloud, and attack both sides of Paris at once. Thus were the Parisians oppressed on all sides by the Armagnacs,—on which account, another proclamation was issued in the king's name

throughout the realm, complaining of the continued atrocious and rebellious acts, in spite of the positive orders of the king to the contrary, committed by the duke of Orleans and his allies, to the great loss and destruction of his subjects and kingdom; that since such grievous complaints had been made on the subject, and were continually made, he was resolved to have a stop put to such lawless proceedings. The king, therefore, with mature deliberation of council, now declares the aforesaid family of Orleans, and their allies, rebels, and traitors to himself and the crown of France; and in order that henceforward no persons may dare to join them, he declares all such to have forfeited their lives and estates, and by these presents gives power and authority to all his loyal subjects to arrest and imprison any of the aforesaid rebels, and to seize on their properties, moveable or immoveable, and to drive them out of the kingdom, without let or hindrance from any of the king's officers. Given at Paris, the 3d day of October, 1411. Signed by the king, on the report from the great council specially called for this purpose, at the hôtel de St Pol, when were present the

duke of Acquitaine, the count de Mortain, the count de la Marche, Louis de Baviere, the lord Gilles of Brittany, the count de St Pol, the chancellor of France, with many other nobles of high rank.

In consequence of this proclamation, many of the captains and noblemen of the Armagnacs grew cold in their service, or delayed joining them according to their former agreements; and fearing greater evils might befal them by further incurring the indignation of the king, they withdrew to the king's party, and excused themselves the best way they could.

While these affairs were going forward, the duke of Burgundy remained at Pontoise, as I have before said, and was there joined by numbers of men at arms, as well vassals to the king as his own.

During his stay at Pontoise, a man of a strong make entered his apartment, with the intention to murder him, and had a knife hid in his sleeve to accomplish his wicked purpose; but as he advanced to speak with him, the duke, having no knowledge of his person, and always suspicious of such attempts, placed a bench before him. Shortly after, some of

his attendants, perceiving his design, instantly arrested him, when, on confessing his intentions, he was beheaded in the town of Pontoise.

The king, in order to strike more terror into the duke of Orleans and his allies, issued other proclamations throughout his kingdom. Underneath is the tenour of the one which he sent to the bailiff of Amiens.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of France, to the bailiff of Amiens, or to his lieutenant, sends health.

'It has lately come to our knowledge, by informations laid before our council, that John our uncle of Berry, Charles our nephew, duke of Orleans, and his brothers, with John de Bourbon, John d'Alençon, Charles d'Albreth, our cousin Bernard d'Armagnac, in conjunction with others, their aiders and abettors, moved by the wicked and damnable instigations of their own minds, have for a long time plotted to depose and deprive us of our royal authority, and with their utmost power to destroy our whole family, which God forbid! and to place another king on the throne of France, which is most abominable to the hearing of every heart in the breasts of our loyal subjects.

'We, therefore, by the mature deliberation of our council, do most solemnly, in this public manner, divulge these abominable and traitorous intentions of the aforesaid persons, and earnestly do call for the assistance of all our loyal subjects, as well those bound to serve us by the tenure of their fiefs as the inhabitants of all our towns, who have been accustomed to bear arms, to guard and defend our rights and lives against the traitors aforesaid, who have now too nearly approached our person, inasmuch as they have entered by force our town of St Denis, which contains not only many holy relics of the saints but the sacred bodies of saints, our crown and royal standard, known by the name of the Oriflamme, with several other precious and rare jewels.

'They have also gained forcible possession of the bridge of St Cloud, and have invaded our rights, (not to say any thing of our very dear and well-beloved cousin, the duke of Burgundy, to whom they have sent letters of defiance,) by setting fire to and despoiling our towns and villages, robbing churches, ransoming or killing our people, forcing married women, and ravishing maidens, and committing every

mischief which the bitterest enemy could do. We therefore do enjoin and command thee, under pain of incurring our heaviest displeasure, that thou instantly cause this present ordinance to be proclaimed in the usual places in the town of Amiens, and in different parts within thy said bailiwick, so that no one may plead ignorance; and that thou do punish corporally, and by confiscation of property, the aforesaid persons, their allies and confederates, whom thou mayest lay hands on, as guilty of the highest treason against our person and crown, that by so doing an example may be held forth to all others. We also command, under the penalty aforesaid, all our vassals, and all those in general who are accustomed to carry arms, to repair to us as soon as possible. Be careful to have the within ordinances strictly executed, so that we may not have cause to be displeased with thee.

'Given at Paris, the 14th day of October, 1411, and in the 32d year of our reign.'

This ordinance was signed by the king, on the report of his council, and thus dispatched to Amiens and other good towns, where it was proclaimed in the usual places, and with such effect on the vassals and loyal subjects of the

king that they hastened in prodigious numbers to serve him.

On the other hand, very many of those who were of the Orleans-party were arrested in divers parts of the realm,—some of whom were executed, and others confined in prison, or ransomed, as if they had been public enemies. It was pitiful to hear the many and grievous complaints which were made by the people of their sufferings, more especially by those in the neighbourhood of Paris and in the isle of France.

I must not forget, among other circumstances, to relate, that the Parisians, to the amount of three thousand, as well those of the garrison as others, sallied out of Paris, and went to the palace of Winchester (Bicêtre), a very handsome mansion of the duke of Berry, where, from hatred to the duke, they destroyed and plundered the whole, leaving the walls only standing.—When they had done this, they went and destroyed another house, where the duke kept his horses, situated on the river Seine, not far from the hôtel de Neelle.

The duke was much enraged when he was told of the insult and mischief that had

been done to him, and said aloud, that a time would come when these Parisians should pay dearly for it.

Affairs daily grew worse; and at length, the duke of Berry, the duke of Orleans and his brothers, the duke of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon and d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albreth, were personally banished the realm by the king, with all their adherents, of whatever rank they might be, by sound of trumpet in all the squares of Paris, and forbidden to remain or set foot within it until they should be recalled.

They were not only banished the kingdom of France, but, by virtue of a bull of pope Urban V. of happy memory, (preserved in the Trésor des Chartres of the king's privileges in the holy chapel at Paris), they were publicly excommunicated and anathematised in all the churches of the city of Paris, by bell, book, and candle. Many of their party were much troubled at these sentences, but, nevertheless, continued the same conduct, and made a more bitter war than before.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY MARCHES A LARGE ARMY FROM PONTOISE TO PARIS, THROUGH MELUN.—THE SITUATION AND CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

I HAVE mentioned, that during the stay of the duke of Burgundy at Pontoise, he received great reinforcements of men at arms from all parts: among others, the count de Penthievre, his son-in-law, joined him with a noble company. Having remained there for about fifteen days, and made diligent inquiry into the state of his adversaries, on the 22d day of October, he marched his whole army thence about two o'clock in the afternoon. As the royal road from that place to Paris was occupied by the enemy, he quitted it for that through Melun sur Seine, where he crossed the river with full fifteen thousand horse, and, marching all night, arrived on the morrow morning at the gate of St Jacques at Paris. Great multitudes went out of the town to meet him; among whom were the butchers of Paris, well armed and arrayed, conducted

by the provosts of the Châtelet and of the merchants, under the command of the count de Nevers, brother to the duke of Burgundy, who was attended by several princes, noble lords and captains: even the great council of state went out upwards of a league to meet him, and to do him honour. Indeed, they all showed him as much deference and respect as they could have done to the king of France, on his return from a long journey.

With regard to the people of Paris, they made great rejoicings on his arrival, and sang carols in all the streets through which he passed; and because his entry was made late in the day, and it was dusk, the streets were illuminated with great quantities of torches, bonfires and lanthorns.

On his approach to the Louvre, the duke of Acquitaine, who had married his daughter, advanced to meet him, and received him with joy and respect. He led him into the Louvre, and presented him to the king and queen, who received him most graciously.

Having paid his due respects, he withdrew, and went to lodge at the hôtel de Bourbon. The earl of Arundel was quartered, with his attendants, at the priory of St Martin des

Champs, and his Englishmen near to him in the adjoining houses. The rest quartered themselves as well as they could in the city.

On the morrow, which was a Sunday, Enguerrand de Bournouville, with many valiant men at arms and archers, as well Picards as English, made a sally as far as La Chapelle, which the Armagnacs had fortified, and quartered themselves within it. On seeing their adversaries advancing, they mounted their horses, and a sharp skirmish ensued, in which many were unhorsed. Among those who behaved well, sir Enguerrand was pre-eminent. Near his side was John of Luxembourg, nephew to the count de St Pol, but very young. Many were wounded, but few killed. The English, with their bows and arrows, were very active in this affair.

While this action was fought, the Armagnacs quartered at St Denis, Montmartre, and other villages, hearing the bustle, mounted their horses, and hastened to cut off the retreat of Enguerrand. He was informed of this in time, and, collecting his men, retreated toward Paris; but as the enemy were superior in numbers, they pressed hard on his rear, and killed and made prisoners several of his men.

The duke of Orleans and the princes of his party, on hearing of the arrival of the duke of Burgundy with so large an army in Paris, ordered their men at arms, and others that were lodged in the villages round, to unite and quarter themselves at St Denis. To provide forage, sir Clugnet de Brabant was sent with a body of men at arms into the Valois and Soissonois, where there was abundance. Sir Clugnet acquitted himself well of his command, and brought a sufficient quantity to St Denis; for at this time there was great plenty of corn and other provision in France.

The Armagnacs were, therefore, well supplied; and as they were the strongest on that side of Paris, they daily made excursions of different parties as far as the rivers Marne and Oise, and throughout the isle of France. In like manner, the army of the king and the duke of Burgundy scoured the country on the other side of the Seine, as far as Montlehery, Meulan and Corbeil; and thus was the noble kingdom of France torn to pieces.

There were frequent and severe rencounters between the men at arms of each side; and a continued skirmish was going forward between

those in Paris and in St Denis, when the honour of the day was alternately won.

Among other places where these skirmishes took place was a mill, situated on an eminence, and of some strength. In this mill, two or three hundred of the Orleans-party sometimes posted themselves, when the Parisians and Burgundians made an attack on them, which lasted even until night forced them to retreat. —At other times, the Burgundians posted themselves in the mill, to wait for the assault of their adversaries.

The duke of Orleans had with him an english knight, called the lord de Clifford, who had, some time before, joined him with one hundred men at arms and two hundred archers, from the country of the Bourdelois. Having heard that the king of England had sent the earl of Arundel, with several other lords, to the duke of Burgundy, he waited on the duke of Orleans to request that he would permit him to depart, for that he was afraid his sovereign would be displeased with him should he remain any longer. The duke of Orleans having for a while considered his request granted it, but on condition that neither he

himself nor his men should bear arms against him during the war. The knight made him this promise, and then returned to England.

On the 6th day of November, Troullart de Moncaurel, governor and bailiff of Senlis, having marched about six score combatants of his garrison to the country of Valois, was met by seven score of the Armagnacs, who vigorously attacked him; but, after many gallant deeds were done, Troullart remained victorious. From sixty to eighty of the Armagnacs were taken or slain; and among the prisoners was sir William de Saveuse, who had followed the Orleans-party, when his two brothers, Hector and Philip, were in arms with the duke of Burgundy. Thus, in this abominable warfare, were brothers engaged against brothers, and sons against fathers. After this defeat, Troullart de Moncaurel and Peter Quieriet, who had accompanied him, returned with their booty to Senlis, when, shortly after, by the exertions of the old lord de Saveuse and the two brothers, Hector and Philip, sir William obtained his liberty.

CHAP. XXXVII.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY LEADS A GREAT FORCE, WITH THE PARISIANS, TO ST CLOUD, AGAINST THE ARMAGNACS.

THE duke of Burgundy having remained some time at Paris with his army, and having held many councils with the princes and captains who were there, marched out of the town about midnight, on the 9th of November, by the gate of St Jacques. He was magnificently accompanied by men at arms and Parisians, among whom were the counts de Nevers, de la Marche, de Vaudemont, de Penthievre, de St Pol, the earl of Arundel, Boucicaut marshal of France, the lord de Vergy marshal of Burgundy, the lord de Heilly, lately appointed marshal of Acquitaine, the lord de St George, sir John de Croy, Enguerrand de Bournouville, the lord de Fosseux, sir Regnier Pot governor of Dauphiny, the seneschal of Hainault sir John de Guistelle, the lord de Brimeu, the earl of Kent, an Englishman, with many other nobles, as well from Burgundy as from Picardy and different countries. They were estimated

by good judges at six thousand combatants, all accustomed to war, and four thousand infantry from the town of Paris.

When they had passed the suburbs, they advanced in good array, under the direction of trusty guides, to within half a league of Saint Cloud, where the Armagnacs were quartered. It might be about eight o'clock in the morning when they came thither, and the weather was very cold and frosty. Being thus arrived without the enemy knowing of it, the duke of Burgundy sent the marshal of Burgundy, sir Gaultier des Ruppes, sir Guy de la Trimouille, and le veau de Bar, with eight hundred men at arms, and four hundred archers, across the Seine, toward St Denis, to prevent the enemy from there crossing the river by a new bridge which they had erected over it. These lords so well executed the above orders that they broke down part of the bridge, and defended the passage.

The duke, in the mean time, ascended the hill of St Cloud in order of battle, and at the spot where four roads met posted the seneschal of Hainault, sir John de Guistelle, the lord de Brimeu, John Phillips and John Potter *,

* Called William Porter by Stowe.

english captains, at one of them, with about four hundred knights and esquires, and as many archers. At another road, he stationed the lords de Heilly and de Ront, Enguerrand de Bournouville, and Aymé de Vitry, with as many men as the knights above-mentioned. The third road was guarded by Neville earl of Kent *, with some picard captains; and the Parisians and others, to a great amount, were ordered to Sevres, to defend that road.

When these four divisions had arrived at their posts, they made together a general assault on the town of St Cloud, which the Armagnacs had fortified with ditches and barriers to the utmost of their power. At these barriers, a notable defence was made by those who had heard of the arrival of the enemy, under the command of their captains, namely, sir James de Plachiel, governor of Angoulême, the lord

* Q. If this is not *Umfreville* earl of Angus and *Kyme* (as Stowe calls him)? There was at this period no Neville earl of Kent. The only earl of Kent of that family was William Nevil lord Falconbridge, created 1461. I find this conjecture somewhat confirmed by the original, which is, 'Ousieville comte de Kam.' It is true, that Holinshed mentions the earls of Pembroke and of *Kent* as being of the expedition: but he cites Monstrelet as his authority, and is therefore likely to be mistaken.

de Cambour, William Batillier, sir Mansart du Bos, the bastard Jacob, knight, and three other knights from Gascony, who fought bravely for some time; but the superiority of numbers, who attacked them vigorously on all sides, forced them to retreat from their outworks, when they were pursued, fighting, however, as they retreated, to the tower of the bridge and the church, which had been fortified.

The whole of the burgundian force which had been ordered on this duty, excepting the party who guarded the passage of the bridge, now bent all their efforts against the church. The attack was there renewed with greater vigour than before, and, notwithstanding the gallant defence that was made, the church was stormed, and many were slain in the church as well as at the barriers. Numbers also were drowned of the crowd that was pressing to re-enter the tower of the bridge, by the drawbridge breaking under their weight.

It was judged by those well acquainted with the loss of the Armagnacs, that including the drowned, there were nine hundred killed and five hundred prisoners. Among these last were sir Mansart du Bos, the lord de Cambour, and William Batillier. In the town of St Cloud

were found from twelve to sixteen hundred horses that had been gained by plunder, and a variety of other things.

While this was passing, the duke of Burgundy was with the main army drawn up in battle-array, on a plain above the town: he had with him the greater part of the princes, and his spies were every where on the look-out that the enemy might not surprise him by any unexpected attack.

The engagement at the tower of the bridge was still continued by the Burgundians, in the hope of taking it; but it was labour in vain, for those within defended it manfully.

Some of the garrison sallied out on the opposite side, and hastened to St Denis, to inform the duke of Orleans of the disaster that had befallen them. He was sorely displeased thereat, and instantly mounted his horse, accompanied by the duke of Bourbon, the counts d'Alençon and d'Armagnac, the constable, the master of the cross-bows, the young Boucicaut, and about two thousand combatants, advanced toward St Cloud, and drew up in battle-array on the side of the river Seine, opposite to where the duke of Burgundy was posted, and made every

preparation as if for an immediate combat. The duke of Burgundy and his men likewise dismounted, drew up in order of battle, and displayed his banner, which was most rich and splendid. But notwithstanding the eager desire which these princes showed for the combat, it was to no purpose,—for the river was between them, so that no damage could accrue to either party, excepting by some chance bolts from the cross-bows, who shot at random.

When the Armagnacs had remained there for some time, seeing that nothing effectual could be done, they remounted their horses and returned to St Denis, leaving, however, a reinforcement to defend the tower of St Cloud. On their departure, the duke of Burgundy held a council, and it was determined to march the whole army back to Paris. The duke lost this day, in slain, not more than from sixteen to twenty; but there were many wounded, among whom were Enguerrand de Bournouville and Aymé de Vitry, who had fought well, as did the lord of Heilly. In like manner, the earl of Arundel and his men behaved gallantly; and it was one of them who had made sir Mansart du Bos prisoner, but for a sum of

money he resigned him to one of the king's officers.

The duke of Burgundy, on his return, was received by the Parisians with great acclamations; for they had heard of his brilliant success, and they imagined that through his means they should shortly be delivered from their enemies, who oppressed them sorely. With regard to the king, the duke of Acquitaine, and the members of the grand council, prelates as well as seculars, the reception which they gave him, the princes and the captains of his army, is not to be described.

The duke of Orleans, learning that the duke of Burgundy had returned to Paris with his army, held a council with the heads of his party, when, having considered the severe loss they had suffered of the most expert of their captains, and the great power and numbers of their opponents, whom they could not at this moment withstand with hopes of success, they resolved to retire to their own countries, and collect a sufficient army to oppose any force the king and the duke of Burgundy should bring against them. This was no sooner determined than executed; for they instantly

packed up their baggage, and, crossing the newly-erected bridge over the Seine, which they had repaired, and the bridge of St Cloud, hastily marched all night toward Estampes, and then continued their route to Orleans, and to other towns and castles under their obedience.

Thus, therefore, the duke of Orleans, in seeking vengeance for the death of his father, gained only disgrace and great loss of men. Such of them as were slain in the field, at the battle of St Cloud, were there inhumanly left without sepulture, as being excommunicated, a prey to dogs, birds, and wild beasts. Some lords of his party, such as sir Clugnet de Brabant, sir Aymé de Sarrebruche, the lord de Hufalize, and many more, passed through the county of Valois to Champagne, and thence to their own homes.

News of this retreat was, very early on the morrow, carried to the duke of Burgundy and his captains at Paris. Some of them mounted their horses, and went to St Denis, when all that the Armagnacs had left was seized on and pillaged: they even arrested and carried away, in the king's name, the abbot of St Denis, for having admitted his enemies into that town.

Many of the principal inhabitants were also fined, notwithstanding the excuses they offered. Others of the duke's officers went to the town of St Cloud, which they found abandoned.—Many pursued the Armagnacs, but in vain; for they had marched all night, and were at a considerable distance before the news of their decampment had reached Paris.

A few days after, the king, by the advice and entreaties of the duke of Burgundy, bought the greater part of the prisoners made at the late battle, by paying their ransoms to those who had taken them. In the number was Colinet, thus surnamed by many, who had betrayed the bridge of St Cloud to the duke of Orleans; and on the 12th day of November, he and five of his accomplices were beheaded in the market-place at Paris: his body was quartered, and the five others were hung up by the arms on the gibbet at Montfaucon.

On the 13th of the same month, a sermon was preached in the church-square, before the porch of Nôtre Dame in Paris, by a Friar Minor, in the presence of the duke of Burgundy, many princes, and a great concourse of people,—in which he said that the bulls given by pope Urban V. had been of the utmost efficacy

against the rebellious subjects of the king, and publicly denounced the duke of Orleans and his party as excommunicated. They were also thus denounced in many other succeeding sermons.

The ensuing day, the king heard mass in Nôtre Dame, and returned to the Louvre to dinner, when he most graciously received the earl of Arundel, and caused him to be seated at his table next to the duke of Burgundy.

Many councils were held at Paris respecting this war, and on the measures the king should now adopt. It was at length determined, that on account of the winter, neither the king nor the princes should attempt any thing more until the ensuing summer, but only have some able captains with a sufficient force on the frontiers, to harrass and pursue the enemy, and keep him in check. In consequence, the lord Boucicaut marshal of France, the lord de Heilly marshal of Acquitaine, Enguerrand de Bournouville, Aymé de Vitry, the lord de Miraumont and others, were ordered on this service with a very considerable force. They marched toward Estampes and Bonneval, and those parts, having with them the lord de Ront.

Bonneval, on the first summons from the above captains, surrendered to the king's obedience, and the greater part of them were lodged in the town, and in an adjoining abbey of some strength. Those of Estampes refused to surrender, for it was garrisoned by the duke of Berry, and began to make war on the troops of the king and the duke of Burgundy, by the instigation of the lord Louis de Bourbon, governor of Dourdan, who resided there.

At this period, with the consent of the duke of Burgundy, sir John de Croy, eldest son to the lord de Croy, still detained prisoner by the duke of Orleans, marched from Paris, with eight hundred combatants, for the castle of Monchas, in the county of Eu, in which were the duke of Bourbon's children and his lady-duchess, namely, one son about three years old, and a daughter by her first husband nine years old, with their nurses and other attendants. The son of sir Mansart du Bos, and the lord de Foulleuses, knight, were also there. The castle and the whole of its inhabitants were taken by sir John de Croy; and he carried them, and all he found within it, to the castle of Renty, where he held them prisoners, until his father, the lord de Croy, was released.

When this misfortune was told to the duke of Bourbon, he was much afflicted; but the duchess took it so sensibly to heart that very soon after she died of grief *.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS THE COUNT DE SAINT POL TO THE VALOIS, AND TO COUCY, AND OTHER CAPTAINS TO DIFFERENT PARTS AGAINST THE ARMAGNACS.

Conformable to the resolutions of the aforesaid council, count Waleran de St Pol was sent into the Valois, to reduce the whole of that country to the king's obedience, and then to march to Coucy with a large body of men at arms, archers, and cross-bows.

* 'Que *à peu près* elle *ne* mourast de deuil.' 'That she was within a little of dying with grief.' Mary of Berry, daughter of John duke of Berry, and wife to John duke of Bourbon (her third husband, she having been before twice a widow, first of Louis de Châtillon count of Dunois, and, secondly, of the constable d'Eu), lived till the year 1434, when she died at Lyons. See Morery. Her children by the duke of Bourbon were Charles, duke of Bourbon after his father,—Louis, who died young,—and another Louis, founder of the line of Montpensier.

Sir Philip de Servolles, bailiff of Vitry en Pertois, was also ordered into the country of Vertus, with a considerable force, to subdue the whole of it. The vidame of Amiens was sent into the county of Clermont. Ferry d'Hangest, bailiff of Amiens, was ordered, for the above purpose, into the counties of Boulogne, Eu, and Gamaches.

The inhabitants of Crespy, the principal town of the Valois, no sooner learnt the intentions of the count de St Pol than they surrendered it to him, and received him handsomely. He thence advanced to the castle of Pierrefons, which was very strong, and well provided with all warlike stores and provision. On coming before it, he held a parley with the lord de Boquiaux the governor, who concluded a treaty with him for its surrender, on condition that the count would pay him, in the king's name, two thousand golden crowns for his expenses, and that the garrison should carry away all they had with them. The lady of Gaucourt, who was in the castle, retired to the castle of Coucy, where she was honourably received by sir Robert d'Esne, the governor.

The count de St Pol marched from Pierrefons to la Ferté-Milon, a very strong

castle, and to Villers-Cotterêts, both belonging to the duke of Orleans; when not only these two but all the other places in Valois, hearing of the surrender of so strong a castle as Pierrefons without making any resistance, surrendered, and returned to their obedience to the king. The count placed good garrisons in each, and then marched for Coucy, in the Soissonois, where, as I have before said, sir Robert d'Esne was governor of the castle. He had with him Rigault des Fontaines, and others attached to the party of the duke of Orleans. The governor of the town of Coucy was sir Enguerrand des Fontaines, and within it were many noblemen, who, holding a council, resolved to surrender the place, and to leave it with all their baggage.

The count quartered himself and his men at arms in the town and suburbs, and then summoned sir Robert d'Esne, in the king's name, to surrender the castle. This sir Robert refused to do, saying, that the duke of Orleans had given him orders, when he appointed him governor, never to surrender it without his consent or knowledge, and these orders he had sworn to obey; that it was well provided with all kinds of stores, and plenty of provision, so

that he did not fear its being taken by force; and he hoped, that before he should be induced to yield it, means would be found to restore his lord and master to the good graces of the king. ——The count, on hearing this answer, ordered the castle to be surrounded, and quartered his men as near to it as possible, keeping up at the same time a brisk cannonade. Among other expedients, the count employed a body of miners, to undermine the gate of the lower court, called la Porte Maistre Odon, which was as handsome an edifice as could be seen for twenty leagues round; and he employed companies of miners to work at the other large towers, who were so successful that, in a short time, the mines were ready to be set fire to.

The governor was again summoned to surrender, but again refused. Upon which, the count ordered his men under arms, to be prepared for the storm should it be necessary; and when all was ready, fire was set to the combustibles within the mines, so that when the supporters were burnt, the whole of the tower and gate fell flat down, but, fortunately for the besieged, the inside wall remained entire, so that the besiegers were not greatly benefited. Several were killed and wounded

on both sides by the fall of the towers: one of them at the corner was prevented from falling to the ground by the wall supporting it; and one of the men at arms remained on this inclined tower, where he had been posted to guard it, and was in great peril of his life, but was saved by the exertions of the garrison.

At length, when the count de St Pol had been before this castle of Coucy about three months, a treaty was entered into between him and sir Robert, that he would surrender the castle on condition that he and his garrison should depart unmolested whither they pleased, with all they could carry with them, and should receive, for their expenses, twelve hundred crowns, or thereabout. When this was concluded, the governor marched off with about fifty combatants, the principal of whom were his son, le Baudrain de Fur, knight, Rigault des Fontaines, before mentioned, and Gaucher de Baissu. The lady de Gaucourt departed also in their company. Sir Robert and the greater part of his men went and fixed their residence at Creve-coeur and in the castle of Cambresis.

The count de St Pol, on the surrender of the castle, appointed sir Gerard de Herbannes

governor, with a sufficient garrison. There were with him on this expedition his nephew John of Luxembourg, the vidame of Amiens, the lord de Houcourt, and many other nobles and esquires from Picardy, especially such as were his vassals. Having finished this business so successfully, he returned to the king at Paris, who, in consideration of his good qualities, and as a remuneration for his services, nominated him constable of France. The sword of office was delivered to him, and he took the usual oaths, in the room of the lord d'Albreth, who had been dismissed therefrom, being judged unworthy to hold it any longer.

In like manner, the lord de Rambures was appointed master of the cross-bows of France, in the place of the lord de Hangest, who had been dismissed by the king. The lord de Longny, a native of Brittany, was made marshal of France, on the resignation, and with the consent, of the lord de Rieux *, who was superannuated.

* John II. lord of Rieux and Rochefort. According to Morery's catalogue, two mareschals were created this year, — Louis lord of Loigny, and James lord of Heilly, commonly called Mareschal of Acquitaine.

CHAP. XXXIX.

SIR PHILIP DE SERVOLLES, BAILIFF OF VITRY, LAYS SIEGE TO THE CASTLE OF MOYENNES. ——OTHER PLACES ARE BY THE KING'S OFFICERS REDUCED TO HIS OBEDIENCE.

In regard to the county of Vertus, the moment sir Philip de Servolles came before the town of that name, it surrendered to the king,—and in like manner all the other places in that county, excepting the castle of Moyennes. In this castle were sir Clugnet de Brabant, his brother John of Brabant, sir Thomas de Lorsies, and many more, who would not on any account submit to the king.

The bailiff of Vitry consequently laid siege to it, and made every preparation to conquer it by force. It was, however, in vain; for the garrison were well provided with provision, artillery and stores of all kinds, so that they little feared the besiegers, and very frequently cut off their detachments.

The siege lasted for upwards of three months; and at the end of this time, sir Clugnet and sir Thomas de Lorsies, mounted on strong and active coursers, followed by two

pages, set out from the castle,—and, galloping through the besieging army with their lances in their rests, passed safely, striking down all opposers, escaped to Luxembourg, and went to sir Aymé de Sarrebruche to seek for succour. But they did not return with any assistance; for a few days after, John of Brabant was made prisoner in a sally from the castle, and, by order of the king and council, beheaded in the town of Vitry. After this event, the remainder of the garrison surrendered themselves to the king's obedience, on stipulating with the bailiff that they were to have their lives and fortunes spared. He instantly new-garrisoned the castle.

Thus was that whole country reduced to the king's obedience; and that of Clermont followed the example, by surrendering to the vidame of Amiens without making any resistance. The garrisons in the different towns and castles that had done great mischief to the surrounding country withdrew with all their baggage, under the protection of passports, to the Bourbonois, and were replaced by the king's troops.

The bailiff of Amiens was equally successful at Boulogne-sur-mer, which, with all the adjacent places, surrendered, excepting the castle of Boulogne,—the seneschal of

which, by name sir Louis de Corail, a native of Auvergne, would not yield it without the permission of his lord, the duke of Berry, who had intrusted it to his guard. The bailiff, however, with his men, destroyed the drawbridge, and filled up the ditches, so that no one could enter or come out of the castle. A parley took place between the governor and bailiff, when the first was allowed to send to his lord, the duke of Berry, to know if he would consent that the castle should be given up to the king, and hold him discharged for so doing.

The duke, in answer, bade him surrender the castle to the king's officers, and come to him at Bourges, which was done. In like manner, all the places in the county of Eu, and in the territory of Gamaches, were surrendered to the king; and the officers who had been placed in them by their lords were dismissed, and others of the king's servants put in their room.

During this time, very large sums of money were raised in Paris and elsewhere, to pay the english troops who had come to serve the duke of Burgundy by permission of the king of England. On receiving their payment, the earl of Arundel, with his men, returned to

England by way of Calais; but the earl of Kent* and his troops remained in the service of the duke of Burgundy.

At this moment, the Orleans-party were in great distress, and knew not where to save themselves; for the instant any of them were discovered, whether secular or ecclesiastic, they were arrested and imprisoned, and some executed,—others heavily fined. Two monks were arrested at this time, namely, master Peter Fresnel, bishop of Noyon, who was taken by sir Anthony de Craon, and carried from Noyon to the castle of Crotoy; the other, the abbot of Foresmoustier, was made prisoner by the lord de Dampierre, admiral of France. They were soon delivered on paying a large ransom, when each returned to his bishoprick and monastery.

The lord de Hangest, still calling himself grand master of the french cross-bows, being attached to the Orleans-party, had, after the retreat from St Denis, secretly retired to the castle of Soissons. Having a desire to attempt regaining the king's favour, he sent a poursuivant to demand a safe conduct from Troullart de Moncaurel, bailiff and governor of Senlis, for

* See p. 328.

him to come and reside in that town. The safe conduct was sent to him, and he came to Senlis; but, because there was no mention of his return in this permission, Troullart made him and fifteen other gentlemen prisoners in the king's name. Shortly after, they were carried to the Châtelet in Paris, to his great displeasure, but he could not prevent it.

The count de Roussy also had retired, after the retreat from St Denis, to his castle of Pont á Arsy sur Aine; but it was instantly surrounded by the peasants of the Laonnois, who increased to about fifteen hundred, and made most terrible assaults on the castle,—and, in spite of its deep moat and thick walls, they damaged it very much. These peasants called themselves the king's children. Sir Brun de Barins, knight, bailiff of the Vermandois, and the provost of Laon, came to assist and to command them,—when the count, perceiving the danger he was in, to avoid falling into the hands of these peasants, surrendered himself and his castle to the bailiff of the Vermandois, on condition that his own life, and the lives of all within it, should be spared. The bailiff accepted the terms, and, having re-garrisoned it with the king's troops, carried the count and

his men prisoners to Laon, where they remained a long time; but at length, on paying a heavy ransom, they obtained their liberty.

The archdeacon of Brie was, in like manner, taken in the tower of Andely by these peasants, He was natural son to the king of Armenia. Sir William de Coussy, who was of the Orleans-party, retired to his brother in Lorraine, who was bishop of Metz.

CHAP. XL.

THE DUKES OF ACQUITAINE AND BURGUNDY MARCH TO CONQUER ESTAMPES AND DOURDAN.——THE EXECUTION OF SIR MANSART DU BOS AND OTHER PRISONERS.

During these tribulations, there were so many grievous complaints made to the king and the princes at Paris, of the mischiefs done to the country by the garrisons of Estampes and Dourdan, that notwithstanding it had been determined in council that neither the king nor the duke of Acquitaine should take the field until the winter should be passed, this resolution was overruled by circumstances.

On the 23d day of November, the duke of Acquitaine, accompanied by the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Nevers, de la Marche, de Penthievre, de Vaudemont, and the marshal de Boucicaut, with others of rank, and a great multitude of the Parisians on foot, marched out of Paris, with the intent to reduce to the king's obedience the garrisons of Estampes and Dourdan, and some others, who continued the war on the part of the duke of Orleans and his adherents.

He halted at Corbeil to wait for the whole of his forces,—and thence, with an immense quantity of warlike stores and bombards, with other artillery, marched his army toward Estampes, wherein was sir Louis de Bourdon, who instantly withdrew into the castle. The townsmen immediately returned to their former obedience, and were kindly received by the duke of Acquitaine, in consideration of his uncle the duke of Berry. Sir Louis de Bourdon, however, refused to surrender, although he was summoned many times, when the castle was besieged on all sides. The lord de Ront was at this time prisoner there,—for he had been taken by sir Louis not long before the arrival of the duke of Acquitaine.

Many engines were now pointed against the walls, which they damaged in several places; and in addition, miners were employed to underwork the towers. The siege was carried on with such vigour that the garrison, thinking it probable they should be taken by storm, opened a parley, and, by means of the lord de Ront, surrendered themselves to the duke of Acquitaine. Sir Louis de Bourdon, with some other gentlemen, his confederates, were sent to the Châtelet at Paris. Great part of the wealth of Bourdon, with a most excellent courser of his, were given to the lord de Ront, to make amends for the losses which he sustained when he was made prisoner.

The dukes of Acquitaine and Burgundy regarrisoned this place, and then returned with their army to Paris; for in truth, they could not, from the severity of the winter, make any further progress. A few days after, by order of the duke of Burgundy, many noble prisoners were carried from Paris to the castle of Lille; among whom were the lord de Hangest, sir Louis de Bourdon, the lords de Gerennes, des Fontaines, sir John d'Amboise and others, who had been arrested for supporting the party of the duke of Orleans. They suffered a long

confinement, but were set at liberty on paying a heavy fine.

At this period, sir Mansart du Bos was beheaded in the market-place of Paris, his body hung by the shoulders on the gibbet at Montfaucon, and his head affixed to the spike on the top of the market-house. This execution took place at the instance of the duke of Burgundy, because sir Mansart was his liege man, nevertheless he had sent him his challenge at the same time with the brothers of Orleans, as has been before noticed. Not all the solicitations of his friends could save him, and he had many of weight with the duke, who endeavoured earnestly to obtain his pardon; but it was in vain, for the duke had resolved upon his death.

There were in the prisons of the Châtelet, and in other prisons of Paris, very many of the Orleans-party who perished miserably through cold, famine, and neglect. When dead, they were inhumanly dragged out of the town, and thrown into the ditches a prey to dogs, birds, and wild beasts. The reason of such cruel conduct was their having been several times denounced from the pulpits, and proclaimed from the squares, as excommunicated persons.

It seemed, however, to many discreet men, as well noble as of the church, that it was a great scandal thus to treat those who were Christians and acknowledged the laws of JESUS CHRIST.

The same rigorous conduct being persevered in, a short time after, a valiant knight, called sir Peter de Famechon, was beheaded in the market-place of Paris: he was of the household and family of the duke of Bourbon,—and his head was affixed to a lance like the others. The duke of Bourbon was much exasperated at his death, especially when he was informed of the disgraceful circumstances that had attended it. At this time, therefore, all who sided with the Armagnacs, and were taken, ran great risk of their lives; for there were few that dared speak in their favour, however near their connexions might be.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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